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SPEECHES AT SIXTH NONALINED SUMMIT MEETINGS

IN HAVANA

PART II

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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MORE SPEECHES AT 5 SEP NONALINED SUMMIT SESSIONS

Madagascar's Ratsiraka

FL101635 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0301 GMT 6 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Madagascar President Didier Ratsiraka at 5 September afternoon session of the Havana nonalined countries sixth summit; in French with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr Chairman, his excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: My remarks are going to be quite long. I will take the liberty of not reading the first four pages because President Kenneth Kaunda already has expressed congratulations to you in behalf of all Africa. I concur with his motion of congratulations to you. [applause]

Mr Chairman, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: We are gathered here in Havana, which also is a Malagasy word meaning relative and friend. Therefore, please allow me to address this conference as a friend, frankly and sincerely.

We will take the liberty of speaking about three aspects, the first of which concerns popular Kampuchea. Faithful to our principle of urging negotiations to resolve problems between socialist countries, we have avoided adding fuel to the fire and we have advocated, for the purpose of maintaining peace, that the seat of Kampuchea remain vacant.

The second matter refers to Vietnam. In the face of the slanderous campaign presently taking place mostly in the West, we, as a recently independent country, say to the Vietnamese people: By rejecting French colonialism, by defeating Yankee imperialism, by destroying the myth of invincibility of imperialism and colonialism, you not only have liberated your territory but have also liberated all the oppressed people of the world, and we are eternally grateful to you, Vietnamese people. [applause]

The third matter: Some tried to sabotage this conference because it was going to be held in Havana. And all this because Comrade Fidel and his people came to the assistance of Angola. Mr Chairman: We think that you were right when you asked: Are we going to remain with our arms folded when the South African hordes were trying to massacre the MPLA, the People's Republic of Angola and revolutionary people of Angola? Well then, Your excellencies and dear brothers, when we see Cuban internationalists travelling over 10,000 km to save our revolutionary brothers of Angola, we say that we cannot remain with our arms folded, we all must applaud it. [applause]

Mr Chairman, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: My remarks are divided into three parts. The first part is devoted to a history of the revolution. It is a brief history which we are convinced will eliminate the doubt and ambiguity which some have tried to give our movement concerning its orientation, objectives and nature for the purpose of dividing it. In the second part we will examine the international situation. In the third part, we will take the liberty of humbly suggesting some specific but drastic measures which could help to solve the world crisis we are presently facing.

We are convinced that the nonalined movement, which at first was a movement of rebels, will become a movement of revolutionaries to the extent of concerns, aspirations and ambitions.

Politics, as Lenin said, is a concentrated expression of the economy. None of the national and international consequences of the liberation of the Third World have been accepted, much less by the minority. The latter continues firmly loyal to the defense of its exhorbitant privileges, to the perpetuation and strengthening of the status quo. Relations between the world's majorities and minorities always are placed under the defense of the interests of the minority, nonrecognition of the interests of the majority, rejection of partnership, imposition of subjugation and submission and, finally, the desire to maintain developing countries in a state of subjugation and the object of the implementation of a global strategy.

Our peace initiatives are obstructed. The establishment of a demilitarized and denuclearized zone of peace in the Indian Ocean has been questioned by the deployment of naval forces and strengthening of the Diego Garcia base, thereby maintaining that region in a state of permanent insecurity.

The capitalist powers' practices of domination, exploitation, intimidation, direct or indirect intereference in the internal affairs of other states, undermining governments and their institutions, and economic sabotage still continue and constantly affect the free exercise of our sovereignty. Examples are not lacking. There is the blockade of Cuba, assassination of heads of progressive states like Allende, aggression against Angola, bombing of Mozambique, Zambia and Lebanon, aggression against Guinea and Benin, attacks and occupation of the democratic Western Sahara Republic, oppression and colonization of the Palestinian people, division of the Korean nation, establishment of a puppet regime in Rhodesia, direct or indirect support to the fascist regime of Pretoria, false elections in Namibia, barely overt threats of military intervention against the oil-producing countries of the Middle East, maintenance of foreign military bases such as Diego Garcia and Guantanamo, and so forth.

Let us see how the rise in oil prices is a weapon skillfully manipulated by the North Americans, a weapon that protects the multinational companies and which will guarantee them an unquestionable hegemony in the world, along with other measures that they are obviously taking in the political and military field.

Let me explain. The world's potential in nonconventional and other sources of energy are immense. There is no lack, there is shore oil, oil in Alaska's northern slope, bituminous resources, [word indistinct] sands, gas from coal which above all is the patrimony of North America in Utah, Wyoming and [name indistinct] not to mention solar, nuclear, geothermic and other energy. However, the exploitation of energy sources implies investments of hundreds of billions of dollars and, therefore, it is possible or profitable only when the price of oil rises. For this reason, the problem of world energy supply is one of price and profits. The only element the North Americans do not control completely is the rate of each price rise. In fact, the North American economy, as we already have said, is increasingly in competition with that of Europe and Japan. For the purpose of maintaining its hegemony and its leadership of the capitalist world, the United States is greatly interested in the overall price rise. Europe and Japan, not to mention the nonoil-producing developing countries, will become increasingly vulnerable due to their total dependence of foreign oil supply, while the United States has an energy potential and the necessary means to cover its own needs.

At the same time, North American imperialism can drop the price of the dollar for the purpose of benefitting its exports of manufactured goods, and still preserve its progress in advanced technology. Finally, the manipulation of the price of the dollar allows the North Americans to considerably reduce the benefits which OPEC member countries obtain from the increases of crude oil prices.

We hail the signing of the SALT II treaties as a great contribution to world detente. On the other hand, with complete awareness and modesty, we find it necessary to alert the Soviet Union to what could be in the medium-term a maneuver, because detente does not mean absolute peace, at least not for us nonalined countries. It is necessary to point out that the signing of SALT II does not preclude the United States from continuing its indispensable [as heard] strategic programs. It will continue to build Trident submarines, produce MX missiles, and the (?implementation) of the multi [words indistinct] system for the new ICBM as a result of the vulnerability of the Minuteman III.

The Diego Garcia base in the [words indistinct] focus of North American strategy in the Indian Ocean. It is an indispensable base to counteract the Soviet advantage after [words indistinct] Suez Canal. Diego Garcia allows the military of the West to reach the Middle East--Egypt and Israel--in case the Azores cannot be used as a supply base.

The transport aircraft of the [words indistinct] command by using the chain of bases in the Pacific can reach Subic Bay and Diego Garcia, and from there the Middle East without having to request permission to overfly third countries. Diego Garcia is an indispensable complement of Subic Bay, the Philippines and Guam in the powerful organization of the western Pacific.

Furthermore, with its submarine patrol, airplanes with a great radius of action--the PT-3--which can be refueled in the air, the North Americans can cover the entire Indian Ocean from Diego Garcia.

Lastly, while the United States condemns with words the racist Pretoria regime, South Africa, [words indistinct] and the Cape of Good Hope represent important strategic areas for them. Perhaps this could explain the permanent destabilization efforts against Mozambique and Madagascar.

By taking the initiative on a peace based on war in the Middle East with the Camp David agreements, by normalizing relations with China, by signing a military alliance treaty with Japan, by signing the SALT II agreements with the Soviet Union while preparing the neutron bomb, by conserving its technological advance, by dividing the Third World countries, by favoring the rise in oil prices and by manipulating the dollar price, the United States will not only preserve its leadership in the Western world and control its capitalist allies, but it will also guarantee an unquestionable world hegemony, neutralizing the Soviet Union and China.

This almost absolute supremacy by a single power, this economic, commercial and military domination of the world are of serious concern to us.

We still maintain that it is necessary that our movement become a movement of revolutionaries capable of imposing the establishment of a new international economic, political, commercial and cultural order that is fair and equitable in the interest of peace, justice, progress and the harmony of mankind. By our action and common struggle, we can impose--and I say impose rather than demand--a new international economic order. [applause]

What are the solutions we are proposing to preclude a division of the nonalined countries and solve our problems? First, we believe that the nonalined oil producing countries with big foreign exchange surpluses should help the other developing countries which are not oil producers and whose balance of payments is being affected. Particularly, it is necessary that they increase their assistance to national liberation movements and all the frontline countries. This does not mean that we do not have to help the frontline states.

Second, the oil producing countries with great foreign exchange surpluses should invest in agriculture in the nonalined countries so that the latter can produce the necessary foodstuffs.

Third, the raw materials--other than oil--producing developing countries cannot impose a remunerative price for their products on the industrialized countries. They cannot, and we have already noted this, force the industrialized countries to buy a specific quantity of their products every year. And here we call on the solidarity of the nonalined oil producing countries to use the weapon of oil to force the industrialized countries to buy those raw materials at a determined price and quantity every year. This is not only possible but also desirable and indispensable. In this regard, we can imagine the creation of a nonalined countries' monetary fund similar to the International Monetary Fund. What would be the objectives of this nonalined countries' monetary fund? To promote economic and monetary cooperation for the purpose of integrating the economies of member countries and accelerating the economic growth process; to help member countries cope with balance of payments deficits; to favor trade between member states and make efforts to abolish restrictions on (?customary) payments; to insure stability on exchange standards; and to coordinate the position of nonalined countries with regard to international financial and economic problems.

Mr Chairman: These are the ideas we should examine on financial matters. We know that numerous institutions of this type already exist, but we also know that for various reasons, sometimes political ones, enormous capital remains unused in some organizations such as the Arab Monetary Fund, the Open Special Fund, and so forth. But if we have the political will to establish a new, fair and democratic international economic order, we must also seek (?mechanisms) in our policy and we must establish in each of our countries a new and democratic order to guarantee our effective independence by examining our economic and social priorities and struggling against the extroversion of our economies. This is in accordance with the deep aspirations of our peoples.

Within this framework, we consider it indispensable that we create a permanent administrative secretariat, with its headquarters to be determined, and a permanent executive committee in charge of not following but implementing our decisions.

Dear Comrade Fidel: To understand the actions of your country, four words are enough: Socialist revolution, proletarian internationalism. [applause] My dear Comrade Fidel, you said once that the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution. [applause] We are prepared to make the revolution. The struggle continues. We shall win. [applause]

Ghana's Rawlings

FL102135 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1343 GMT 6 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Jerry John Rawlings, chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council of Ghana, at the 5 September evening session of the sixth nonalined countries summit in Havana; in English with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr Chairman, Your Excellencies, distinguished delegates: It gives me great pleasure to be the bearer of greetings from the people of Ghana to this conference. First of all, permit me to congratulate you, President Castro, on your election as chairman of this summit.

Mr Chairman: I would like to take this opportunity to add my voice to those who have given a hearty welcome to our new members. The admission of four Central and South American countries is an event to which we give a warm welcome because it brings this hemisphere closer to the ideals and principles of nonalinement. We trust that this healthy trend will continue until the entire region, liberated from its old ties, will have its representatives in this movement.

The Patriotic Front [of Zimbabwe] brings with it, and we are certain that the movement will inspire it, a renewed dedication to one of its cardinal principles--support for the cause of liberation. Equally, we ask that the front obtain from this movement strong and decisive support for its legitimate struggle. Victory is in sight and while the final steps are taken to attain it, let us not fail to give our effective support.

Your Excellencies: For the people of Ghana nonalinement is a concept to which we attach great importance. When we gained our independence in 1957 our great leader, the late Dr Kwame Nkrumah, warned us that our independence would have no significance unless it was linked to the liberation of the entire African Continent. [applause]

The movement can continue to grow in strength only if we, in addition to being concerned with world peace, pay greater attention to internal situations that cause setbacks to our political and economic development and, therefore, undermine our movement.

We in Ghana know this too well as a result of our recent experiences. Our people were exploited to the maximum. They were degraded, dehumanized. In short, the national spirit of my country was crushed. We did not know that we had the right to be angry. We have lived in varying degrees of corruption, but never had there been such a shameless abuse of human values and dignity. This critical situation exploded into a spontaneous rebellion of the officers and soldiers of the armed forces.

Mr Chairman: Please note the difference between an organized coup d'etat and a rebellion. The scope of that rebellion, if it had not been contained, would have led to anarchy. Some of our critics do not understand that we, as patriots, have the responsibility not only to safeguard the lives of our people but also to prevent the disintegration of our country.

We of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council are convinced that the proper role of the military in our country is to contribute to the achievement of our people's interests. For us, the position of leadership imposes a degree of trust which we can betray only at the risk of incurring the anger of our people.

In the course of our struggles we have come to understand quite well the distortions of revolutionary victories by our enemies. These distortions are the result of their persistent desire to dominate our destiny. Thus, the news media do not report the crimes committed against our people by the imperialists, and give no account of the existing situation in our country. But they do publish lies and distortions of the situation.

The work of the news agencies pool created by our movement should be strengthened and special attention should be paid to the inter-governmental council for the coordination of news and information of this movement, if we are to be freed from the manipulation of information by forces which continue their efforts to rule us.

Mr Chairman: The invincible spirit of the peoples of Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Angola in facing the constant criminal attacks from the racists strengthens our determination to support their struggle.

I therefore call upon this conference to give its solidarity to these peoples. In Zimbabwe, thanks to our solidarity, the puppet regime of Bishop Muzorewa has been isolated. We hope that as a result of the latest initiatives of the Commonwealth, Zimbabwe will return to legality and that real independence is established under a genuine government of the African majority.

Toward these efforts, the Patriotic Front, whose struggle and sacrifices have forced the racists and their African collaborators to the negotiating table, should play its role in the affairs of its country. It is our conviction that the forthcoming negotiations should not generate any relaxation of military and economic sanctions against the illegal regime.

Mr Chairman: In supporting the liberation of the people of southern Africa, we recognize one of the great principles of nonalinement, the principle of self-determination for all nations. If it can be applied in southern Africa, it can also be applied any place where the stain of domination of one race over another and of one person over another exists. It also can be applied in the Caribbean, Western Sahara and Palestine. It is for this reason that we recognize the PLO and give it a seat here as the sole and legitimate representative of the heroic Palestinian people. It is for this reason that we in Ghana have recognized the POLISARIO as the sole and legitimate representative of the courageous Saharan people. [applause] We express the hope that it will not be too long before they are seated among us as a full-fledged member and sovereign state of our movement.

It is our firm position that the right to self-determination and national sovereignty of the Palestinian people and Saharan people is not negotiable under any circumstances, and that all parties should take this into account when they discuss these issues.

Mr Chairman: I should like at this time to call to the attention of this conference the dangerous trend within our movement toward its divisiveness, which if not quickly cut at its roots will undermine our solidarity. A movement as large and heterogenous as ours necessarily will have differences of opinion. But diversity should and can be a source of strength, and the different views should demonstrate the genuinely democratic nature of our movement. Our ability to reconcile differences and harmonize viewpoints will be the test of our maturity.

Mr Chairman: There is a crisis of confidence in the international economic system notwithstanding all efforts made since 1974 to bring about a new international economic order based on sharing an equitable distribution of the world's resources between the north and south. The failure of the North-South Dialog, among other efforts, represents a loss of credibility and a gap between statements and actions on the part of the industrialized north.

The lessons from this experience should force us to exploit more fully the opportunities within the nonalined movement by adopting a policy of collective self-reliance.

My delegation believes that it is time we recognize one another as potential allies in our pursuit of development as nations. We have the opportunity through trade, our talent and joint promotion of projects within the group to strengthen cooperation in the Third World.

Mr Chairman: On the inaugural day of this conference, His Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia made an eloquent appeal for more investments by the oil-producing countries in member countries that require investments.

We, for our part, acknowledge the assistance we have received from the Arab group for our development projects. As a result of our experiences with these projects, we know that greater avenues can be opened for cooperation among all of us.

Finally, Mr Chairman, Your Excellencies, for us coming to Cuba and experiencing first-hand its proverbial hospitality has been an experience we treasure. In case I have said little to praise you, it is because I know that true revolutionaries do not expect to hear praise.

I hope this conference will not be another exercise of rhetoric, but that it will lead to significant actions that will improve the standard of living of our nations. Everything has been very dynamic, very positive and very true. We can do it with dignity. That will be a better foundation of the nonalined movement. Thank you. [applause]

SPEECHES AT 6 SEP NONALINED SUMMIT SESSIONS

Grenada's Bishop

FL111755 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 2304 GMT 6 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop at the 6 September morning session of the sixth nonalined countries summit in Havana; in English with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrade President, Your Excellencies, colleagues and comrades: Today constitutes a great honor for me to make my country's first speech at the nonalined countries movement on behalf of the people's revolutionary government of Grenada and the people of Grenada.

We are particularly happy, Comrade President, to speak immediately after Comrade Ortega of Nicaragua, because the processes in 1979 that have had the strongest impact and greatest effect on our revolutionary struggles in Grenada have been the revolutionary processes and struggles in Iran and Nicaragua.

Comrade President, we are happy to say that we in Grenada were the second country in the world, on 22 June of this year, to recognize the Nicaraguan Provisional Revolutionary Government. [applause]

We in Grenada, Comrade President, have always had a very deep admiration for the Cuban people and their revolution. As such, it is particularly appropriate that the first nonalined countries summit which we have had the privilege to attend be held in this great revolutionary country, Cuba. On behalf of our delegation, government and people, may I extend our sincere and fraternal gratitude to the government and people of Cuba for the excellent arrangements they have made for this summit and for their warm and fraternal hospitality.

As Grenada today enters the nonalined movement, we do so as one of the smallest nations in this great movement. In fact, we enter it as a small island of only 133 square km with a population of just over 100,000 people. And like almost all of our Caribbean friends represented here, we have a population of mostly African origin as a result of that gross and deadly form of exploitation--slavery.

Our revolution is a popular revolution, and as such its cornerstone is the development of our nation. Part of this effort lies in establishing the rights of the people, including rights to social and economic justice, the right to work, right to equal pay for men and women and the right to democratic participation in the affairs of our nation. In addition to these national objectives, we also share a firm commitment to the establishment of an international community based on the principles of opposition to colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism, fascism and imperialism.

Comrade President: In fact, the basic principles of our new foreign policy coincides with the essential principles of the nonalined movement. We affirm before this great assembly our resolute and irrevocable opposition to imperialism in all its forms. We affirm with equal and irrevocable determination our opposition to colonialism and neocolonialism in all their manifestations. We affirm our strongest repudiation of racism, including Zionism, and racial discrimination. We particularly affirm our invariable opposition to the hateful and despicable system of apartheid which continues to keep millions of our brothers and sisters of southern Africa in the most inhumane slavery.

We commit our greatest support to the great struggles for national liberation presently being waged at different levels throughout southern Africa. We affirm our resolute position against economic exploitation, foreign occupation or domination anywhere in the world.

We affirm our repudiation of all military pacts or blocs designed to strengthen imperialism, expansionism, fascism or racism. We are firmly in favor of national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality of all races and peoples of the world. We also affirm our fullest support for an end to the arms race, as well as for conclusion of the detente process and SALT II.

Comrade President: The nonalined movement has been a vital force in the process of decolonization and the achievement of national independence by millions of people in the Third World. But there still remain areas which remain under a colonial regime in the Caribbean, Africa, Asia and elsewhere. And, of course, we must persevere in our support for an end to colonialism in these last enclaves of colonial regimes. It is for this reason that our delegation joins the ranks of support for the liberation movements of southern Africa that are trying to liberate Zimbabwe, Namibia and that bastion of superracists--South Africa--from the clutches of colonialism and imperialism.

There are also indications of the crumbling of colonialism in this region. St Lucia and Dominica, which we welcomed this week as observers in the nonalined movement, obtained their independence within the past 12 months. Antigua, St Vincent and St Kitts are about to attain independence. We firmly support the independence and territorial integrity of the people of Belize.

We also wish to express our strongest solidarity with the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico and the people of Puerto Rico in their struggle for independence. We also express our deepest solidarity with the government and people of Panama in the struggle to recover the Panama Canal, and to the government and people of Cuba in their demands to regain the land and Bay of Guantanamo. We also wish to express our deepest hope for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Comrade President, we congratulate Malta on the removal of NATO bases from its territory, in keeping with the principles of the nonalined movement.

Today there are more than $40 billion invested in Latin America. Today the North American transnational companies continue exploiting the resources of the people in our area--bauxite, oil, copper and gold. And, on top of this, there are what they regard as geopolitical considerations. When they speak of geopolitical considerations, usually what they mean is the fear of another Cuba, the fear that another Cuba may emerge in the region.

This fear of Cuba has led to all types of imperialist attempts to undermine and change the Cuban revolution. Let us recall that in 1961 there was the direct invasion at the Bay of Pigs. Let us recall the numerous plans to assassinate Comrade Fidel and other leaders of the Cuban revolution.

If there were no Cuba, we could not have learned the important lesson that blockades, barricades and isolation cannot prevent a determined and solidly dedicated people from consolidating their revolutionary process. If there were no Cuba, we could not have been reminded that neither the imperialist or reactionary forces nor threats nor sabotages can break the spirit of a people struggling for their liberation and national self-determination.

Cuba set the foundation for Grenada, Nicaragua and, in our view, for the victories achieved in Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique. The example and spirit of the Cuban revolution, therefore, have had an international impact. [applause] And perhaps we should first of all stress the fact that Cuba is the best example of what socialism can do in a small country for public health, education, employment and ending poverty, prostitution and disease. It is today the best example in the world of the successes that a country can obtain, and it is this that imperialism fears the most.

One of the historic tasks of the nonalined movement at the end of this decade should be to destroy all artificial barriers created by colonialism and imperialism. We must once again rally around the slogan of one people, one region. And we of this region, we the sons of Grenada, solemnly pledge to struggle as hard and as seriously as we can to insure that the peoples of this zone become a single Latin American people. [applause]

The importance of the nonalined movement for our process in Grenada has been fundamental. From the very earliest days of our revolution we were threatened, we were bombed with threats of the use of force, we were victims of attempts at destabilization of our system. In the first weeks of the revolution after the dictator Gairy had fled to the United States and began to recruit mercenaries there to try to return to our country, we put out a signal and requested assistance--military assistance, arms assistance and military training assistance--from various countries, including the United States, Great Britain and Canada. We made similar requests to our Caribbean neighbors and to Latin America, including Jamaica, Guyana and Cuba.

In the early days of the revolution, the former U.S. ambassador to Grenada, Frank Ortiz, went to Grenada to advise us and to tell us that any attempt on our part to establish links or close relations with the Government of Cuba would be seen in a very bad light by the U.S. Government. And we had to remind the ambassador that although we were a small country and although we were a poor country, the people of our country had devoted several years to the struggle against the dictatorship. Many of our patriots had been brutually murdered over these years. They were patriots who had fought for years with arms in hand. And now that we were beginning to taste freedom, we were not going to sacrifice that freedom for the wishes of the United States or any other foreign power.

We had to remind him that all countries have the sovereign right to build their own process in their own way, free from foreign interference and free from the use or threat of the use of force. We had to remind him that so far as the people of Grenada were concerned, we were not in anyone's backyard and we were not going to sacrifice our integrity and revolution just because the imperialists wanted us to do so.

And today we see that these threats continue. These attempts at reverting our process continue. Shortly before coming to this conference last week, we received a cable from the U.S. secretary of state. The cable informed us that if we participated in the nonalined conference we would be on the frontline of Cuba's efforts to try to destroy and divide the movement. They said these efforts were initiated in an attempt to destroy the OAS and preclude the peaceful role of that organization, and that what was expected of us in Grenada was that we join other forces to try to insure that this would not happen.

Of course, we had several options before us. We could have responded to the secretary of state. We could have told him that we have never tried to give advice to any country and certainly not to the United States on how they should conduct their own affairs in any organization to which they belong. But we did not choose this route or alternative. What we did was to insure that in participating in this conference, we would speak loudly and categorically for the interests of the world's suffering people, the oppressed countries and nations which today are fighting for their freedom, independence and rights to national self-determination. We believed that our presence here, along with the presence of the other nonalined countries, would be the best categorical answer we could give to any suggestion that we were going to try to divide or reverse the process of the nonalined movement.

Comrade President: It is a changing world. We know that imperialism is not invincible. We know that the balance of forces of the world is changing. We know that a new Caribbean is being built. Jamaica, Guyana and now Grenada, Dominica and St Lucia have governments that have been supported by progressive forces. We see the same thing in the broader context of Latin America. We see a new Latin America emerging--Cuba in 1939, Nicaragua now and Chile a few years ago.

We can see, Comrade President, indications that the world is changing. We can see indications that a new world is being built. And now more than ever the nonalined movement has to focus on the economic aspects of the struggle against imperialist domination. It is necessary to reiterate that as important as political, racial and cultural liberation is, it needs to be based on a progressive attainment of increasingly higher levels of economic liberation.

We give our wholehearted support to the efforts made by all the progressive countries and all the Third World countries in their struggle for a new world based on social and economic justice for the world's poor.

Comrade President: Before ending, I should like to say a few words with regard to some of the special problems that we of the small island states, as well as other states, are facing.

We have limited markets, limited relations, limited resources. We lack technological capacity. We have a strong dependence on one or two raw materials. We have little capital. We have underdeveloped markets and inadequate infrastructures. And for countries like ours, Comrade President, we find ourselves doubly hit by imperialism, because whereas the bigger countries of the Third World today are struggling for their right to have better trade terms, many of us have to wage a battle just to trade. Many of the Third World's bigger countries, although still poor, today are struggling for the establishment of an international authority to supervise the resources of the sea and insure that such resources are used for the benefit of all mankind, and not just for one or two transnational companies.

For many of us in the smaller states, the first problem is recognition of our 200-mile territorial sea zone. The balance of payments is difficult for these small island states because most of them do not have their own central bank. Therefore, what appears to be a balance of payments deficit actually is nothing more than a budget deficit. The per capita income is difficult for us because when we use that criteria, what we are doing is taking into account the money that is produced and gained by a few millionaires. But these financial resources are distributed irrationally and the standard of living of the people is very low.

Comrade President: These special problems of the small and developing island states require an urgent examination by not only Third World countries but also nonalined countries. Of course, we will continue struggling to bring in the biggest countries of the movement to help to create a new international economic order. However, we should also point out that even though it may be a relatively small assistance from a bigger country of the Third World to a small island state, that small assistance could make a big difference and could have a tremendous impact on the local economy and society.

Perhaps an example of this will clarify what I mean. When we requested assistance from the revolutionary government and people of Cuba, and they sent us 12 doctors to work for 1 year, it immediately had a massive impact on the people of my country. When those 12 doctors were spread out over such a small island like ours all the citizens could feel their influence. If one compares this with sending the same number of doctors to Ethiopia, for example, the difference can be seen because those doctors are lost in such a big country.

What I want to say, therefore, is that assistance of any sort can have the most enormous impact and can make a big difference for countries like mine. Small island states have special disadvantages.

In this connection, Comrade President, we want to express our gratitude and support for the proposals made by President Saddam Husayn of the Republic of Iraq at this conference for the creation of a long-term world fund to help developing countries cope with the effects of inflation. We must now pressure the countries of the developed capitalist world to make a considerable contribution to this fund.

We thank the people of Cuba for maintaining and consolidating their revolution. We thank the people of Cuba for their revolutionary example, for their courage, for their discipline and for their numerous successes. We salute their leader, Comrade Fidel Castro. [applause] Long live the Cuban revolution. Long live the struggle of the workers of the world for peace, freedom, justice and social progress. Long live the nonalined movement. [applause]

Indian Foreign Minister

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[Text] The following is the text of the speech given by S. N. Mishra, foreign minister, at the Havana summit on September 6:

President, on behalf of my delegation and on behalf of the people of India I would like to felicitate you, not just as the chairman of our conference but as the person whom Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his first meeting in 1961 greeted simply as "a brave hand." You led a people's revolution against an oppressive tryanny. You faced intervention and defeated it. You now preside over the well-established socialist Republic of Cuba. Your chairmanship of our enlarged community is a tribute to your leadership and the importance which Cuba commands in international affairs. We salute you and Cuba for the manifold achievements of your people and express gratitude for the generous hospitality of your country.

May I also offer grateful thanks to President Jayewardene for the exemplary manner in which he guided the movement as its chairman.

In 1961 Cuba alone from this continent joined the movement as a member, and since then and notably at this meeting Latin American participation has grown steadily. This summit in Latin America is symbolic of the revolutionary appeal of the movement.

May I warmly welcome once again four new members to our fraternity from Latin America --Suriname, Grenada, Bolivia and Nicaragua. May I also welcome as a full member the brave Zimbabwe Patriotic Front. I would particularly like to felicitate Pakistan and Iran who join us after a long association with blocs which have now happily been dissolved. The entire Indian Subcontinent will now belong to our movement. This augurs well for reinforcing the outgoing search for good neighbourly cooperation and trust and in turn should no doubt contribute to stability in the region.

Owing to his preoccupation in India our prime minister could not come and I was asked to lead our delegation. I bring his message that his absence would not mean less interest in the movement and India would continue to march with you all with unfaltering steps (?and) unflinching faith in our ideals.

Within our constitutional system the people of India are shortly going to elect openly and democratically representatives to our parliament and to give themselves the government reflecting the will of the people. But let there be no mistake that, just as our nation is committed to democracy, the entire spectrum of Indian political opinion is unreservedly committed to the letter and spirit of the philosophy of nonalignment. The government and leaderships have changed in India and no doubt will continue to change. What will not change, however, is our faith in the right of independent national judgement and our determined opposition to alliance systems based on multilateral militarism. Nor will India ever relent in its determined opposition to all forms of domination and every manifestation of racism, colonialism and imperialism.

Since independence India made nonalignment the bedrock of its foreign policy. We always saw in nonalignment the fulfillment of Gandhi's hopes that our freedom must be part of the struggle for emancipation for all peoples. In the spirit of the philosophy of Gandhi and Nehru, nonalignment signified respect for the individuality and personality of other nations. It recognised their right, like ours, to choose their own social and economic systems and in this spirit permitted dignified and beneficial cooperation between nations. The five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten principles evolved in Bandung, which we proclaimed as the guide in our relations with nations, reinforced the spontaneous spirit of nonalignment. Nonalignment was never a policy of equidistance or of neutrality for us. It was something inestimably more positive, vital and vibrant. It enabled us to support decolonisation and liberation movements and take principled stands on issues which confronted the world.

Since the small but historic gathering in Belgrade in 1961 the vision of nonalignment of our founding fathers, and here I would like to pay a special tribute to their sole survivor present here amongst us, the ageless President Tito, has established and vindicated itself. We recall with pride that along with President Tito and President Nasir, Prime Minister Nehru, the architect of our foreign policy, worked to formulate the principles and criteria which gave us strength and direction. As President Jayewardene reminded us, it was Nehru who first used the word "nonalignment." Today we have become a large family of nearly 100 nations encompassing four continents, symbolising both unity and diversity.

The process of growth has its own problems and challenges, its own trials and tribulations. Our response to these challenges must be true to the ethos of our movement. It must be according to the law of our origin and to the values and ideals we are pledged to uphold. We cannot have one foot in nonalignment and another in alignment. Tragedy occurs in life when there is a hiatus between the law of one's being on the one hand and one's actions and behavior on the other.

As our family has grown it is not unnatural that differences and difficulties should occur. But it is disturbing that disputes between us should have erupted into armed conflicts. We have to remember that if we let such divisions erupt or fester we are prone to intervention from outside powers. We must not allow ourselves even unwittingly to subserve their ulterior ends and act in a manner inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our movement.

Precisely at this moment when our movement is at its zenith the need for introspection is the greatest. It is, I believe, timely to remind ourselves of the old principles and new priorities which flow from them. Let me endeavour to define them briefly and pertinently.

1. The nonaligned movement independently and through support to the United Nations seeks to safeguard international peace and promote universal relaxation of tensions. It aims at the continuous reduction of cold war suspicions, the dissolution of great power military alliances and foreign military bases, and the creation of an environment to facilitate conventional and nuclear disarmament in the world.

2. Nonalignment remains steadfastly opposed to imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and every manifestation of racism, domination, hegemony and exploitation. It supports national liberation movements and must seek to preserve and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms everywhere.

3. Nonalignment calls for respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security for all nations and their right to exercise independence of judgment and action. Given this respect and adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence between different socioeconomic systems the movement can remain an effective nonbloc factor in world affairs.

4. Nonalignment endeavours to find the balance between the efflorescence of national personality based on the genius and cultural heritage of each nation and inexorable logic of international interdependence and cooperation amongst nations. It recognises the responsibility of national exertions in the resolution of national problems of growth, development and security. At the same time, it seeks to create an international climate where such national fulfillment can be obtained along with rectification of international imbalances. These principles and objectives led the nonalined movement to a firm commitment for the establishment of the new international economic order which must narrow the widening gap between the developed and developing countries, and thus obtain the eradication of poverty, sickness, hunger and illiteracy. The movement, through a programme of mutual cooperation, must forge the sinews of complementarities among the developing world in general and nonaligned nations in particular, and thus promote both national and collective self-reliance which in turn would contribute to the resolution of world economic and trade problems. These goals and objectives emerge from the declarations of the successive summit conferences at Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo and have become the touchstone which can provide the beacon light for our deliberations at Havana.

There is reason for continued and added confidence in our faith if only we recall our achievements. We anticipated detente and the logic of coexistence. We foresaw that in modern technology, interdependence cannot be confined to one or another social system. We recognised interdependence cannot be confined to one or another social system. We recognised that international commerce must grow, and this would further bind the nations together in peace and cooperation. We cautioned from the very beginning against the spectre of human and material national resources being diverted to nuclear and conventional armaments and means of destruction. These achievements and our current goals reinforce the logic of unity in our diversity.

The question, however, is as our membership grows, does it give strength or does it dilute our principles and cohesion. We chose nonalignment in defiance, the situation and the circumstances may have changed and yet can we, when nonalignment is not at bay, preserve it for continued positive purposes? Are we to lose our solidarity nearly because some of our adversaries have been overwhelmed or because the countervailing pressure from the philosophy of alliances has eased. If we recognise the imperative of our solidarity, we must, with consistency, subordinate to it everything which undermines our capacity to work and cooperate together. There should be no complacency that this great movement has reached its plateau even if some of the initial objectives have been achieved, nor should there be any apprehension that the movement is on a declining curve. Much still abides for our united efforts.

The Colombo conference in 1976 clearly pointed to the new terrain on which the nonaligned movement has now to function. It envisioned a new horizon opening up before it, a horizon no less stimulating than the previous ones and in keeping with the basic urges and ethos of our movement.

It would be apt to recall the Colombo political declaration. I quote from it: "As a result of recent developments, the importance of ensuring the genuine and complete independence of states as distinct from merely formal sovereignty had been enhanced. The problem of unequal relations between states often amounting to domination continues to be a disturbing phenomenon even negating the hard-won freedom of some states. Today one of the principal tasks of the nonaligned remains the combating of unequal relations and domination arising from neocolonialism and similar forms of domination."

The economic declaration of Colombo made it clear that the developing countries would not be able to solve their urgent economic problems and pursue their plans of development without the establishment of the new international economic order. The economic declaration further warned that the new international economic order which we seek to establish must recognise the interconnections between the present political and economic forces. The Colombo declarations--political and economic--called for the opening of the economic dimension of the movement in its full vigour and amplitude if the process of unfoldment of the movement's personality was to continue unabated. But to the Colombo conference even this stress on the economic aspect, crucially important as it was, was not enough. It recognised for example the right to untainted knowledge and information which, if thwarted could negate much of our efforts in political and economic fields. So the political declaration, inter alia, affirmed that a new international order in the fields of information and mass communications was as vital as a new international economic order. Thus we can readily see that we do not find ourselves on a declining but on an ascending curve. The movement would suffer not only arrest and retardation of its personality but inevitably face serious distortions and contradictions, even decline and disintegration, if it does not accept the challenges of its further growth and efflorescence.

The historic role of the Havana summit lies in concretising the tasks on the new terrain and operationalising our ideas for their accomplishment. It appears that there is a certain correlation between the relationships among the great powers and the situation that exists in the nonaligned movement so that the unity and character of the latter get affected by the situation in respect of the former. If we are reduced to a registering machine for the rise, fall or even stagnation in the great power relationships and do not seek to act as a correcting mechanism of any distortions that might occur in these relationships, it would lead to the downfall of a great movement. It would be the very negation of the objectives and principles for which we stand and we would become a new arena for cold war, more dangerous because of its deceptive facade. Against such threats we must exercise more alertness and vigilance.

The play of these forces is evident in many troubled regions of the world. The situation in West Asia continues to cause grave anxiety. India has a deep and historical relationship with the Arab world. We are therefore seriously concerned about the recent developments which have further increased tensions in the region. The Egypt-Israeli treaties have caused fears and misgivings which have led to the exacerbation of the situation, particularly by dividing the Arab world. It is for Egypt to take steps to remove these misgivings. One thing is clear--Israeli intransigence has hardened and the prospects of a just and durable settlement have receded. Any solution which ignores the fact that Palestine is at the core of the issue stands no chance of success. Peace if it is to be lasting must be based on the principles of the inadmissibility of conquest by force. Israel must therefore vacate all Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war. The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, whose sole representative is the PLO, including the right to their own state is central to a satisfactory settlement. We must continue to exert unrelenting pressure on Israel to move it from its present obstinate persistence in occupying illegally Arab lands. We are quite clear that any arrangement that bypasses these basic facts or serves to weaken Arab unity can only prove to be self-defeating.

In southern Africa the danger is still from entrenched racism standing in the way of majority rule and equal rights for all the peoples. The monstrous system of apartheid continues in South Africa. We welcomed the Lusaka agreement on Zimbabwe hammered out by the Commonwealth heads of government but made bold to caution that it must be pressed with time-bound urgency. It must not prove another fraud on the people of Zimbabwe involving the acceptance of weighted advantage to the white minority. The Patriotic Front, now a member of our movement, must be allowed to have full part in formulating a new constitution.

In neighbouring Namibia the outlook remains gloomy. All the efforts of the Western five seems to be floundering or stagnating. The people of Namibia cannot be blamed if in their frustration they turn under the undisputed leadership of SWAPO to other possible means to liberate their homeland. We for our part must morally, materially, individually and collectively assist SWAPO.

Southeast Asia is once more troubled and threatened by foreign involvement. The people of Indochina have suffered enough in the struggle for freedom because of intervention and destruction. The complexity and gravity of the situation in Kampuchea and the sharp divisions which it has created was reflected during our discussions last week. The seminal fact that stands out is that the region calls for a return to the search for stability through mutual confidence and regional cooperation. Such stability will never come unless there is respect for the personality and independence of every state and willing cooperation amongst them.

Cyprus, a member of our movement, continues in the unhappy situation of its territory still remaining occupied. A settlement of the Cyprus problem based on the dialogue between the Cypriot communities free from any outside interference must be encouraged within the framework of the resolutions of the United Nations and the decisions of the nonaligned movement.

Chairman, it is also a matter of deep regret that the objectives of the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace adopted by the United Nations in 1971 have remained unfulfilled. On the other hand despite the reiterated wishes of the littoral and hinterland states, great power military presence in the Indian Ocean, instead of decreasing, has actually been on the increase. In particular the strengthening of existing military bases such as Diego Garcia cannot but cause concern over further intensification of the arms race and a setback in the relaxation of international tension in the area. We were disappointed that the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union relating to the Indian Ocean were interrupted.

We would strongly urge that the dialogue between the two sides be soon resumed. We would further urge all great powers to cooperate effectively with the ad hoc committee in the United Nations in pursuance of the call reiterated by the recently concluded meeting of the littoral and hinterland states.

Let us frankly acknowledge that the dangers to our movement flow not only from external factors but often from bilateral disputes within our fraternity. India has always carefully sought to avoid burdening the movement with any bilateral problems of its own. Fortunately we have come a long way in resolving problems with our neighbours and can take pride that the climate of confidence in South Asia has improved significantly. We are convinced that if we continue this process, we can release our energies for developments and beneficial cooperation on a bilateral and regional basis.

Political problems catch our attention by dramatic headlines. But equally insidious and pervading problems come from the economic issues facing the world. The global economic situation is today characterised by insufficient growth and growing disparities amongst different groups of countries. Our meeting takes place on the eve of the special session of the United Nations in 1980 to be devoted to economic issues. A development strategy for the 1980's is to be discussed and hopefully adopted at that time. We do not however approach this session with much expectations, not because we have no demands nor because nothing more needs to be done but because of our dismal experience in the first development decades.

One can list many examples of the malaise that afflicts the global economic scene. We recognise that the developed countries are also facing their own problems today. But it is regrettable that they fail to perceive that a lasting solution to their problem lies in ensuring the economic development of the developing world and in pursuing a path of growth which involves the harnessing of the potential effective demand and the productive capacities of the developing countries. Wider acceptance of this interrelationship between the growth of the economics of developed countries and prosperity of the developing countries can impart a new momentum to the international negotiating process. If therefore a beginning has to be made towards solving the problems of the world economy on the basis of genuine interdependence, it is vital to participate in the decisionmaking process related to the international economy. [as received]

The recent breakdown of the negotiations on the safeguards code at Geneva is a further evidence of the lack of political will on the part of the developed countries to move towards a restructuring of the world trading system. It is more distressing that in spite of the antiprotectionist sentiments expressed by every nation and duly reflected in many international declarations, agreement on the "safeguards" should have been frustrated on account of the intransigence of a handful of developed countries. What we seek, Chairman, is not charity but an opportunity to earn our way in the world. If therefore our staple exports are subject to wide price fluctuations and our newer products are abruptly and unilaterally prevented entry in developed country markets, this makes a mockery of developed countries' professed faith in free trade.

A connected issue is the participation of developing countries in tendering for award of contracts for executing projects in other developing countries. Further, some of the current institutional arrangements between a group of developed countries and that of developing countries, for example under the Rome Convention, restrict access in this regard to firms of member states. Such restrictive provisions need to be reviewed in the context of the accepted need for untying aid and promoting economic cooperation among developing countries.

Chairman, all this underscores the need for fully realising the potential of collective self-reliance among the nonaligned and other developing countries by imparting vigour and dynamism to the programme for mutual economic cooperation and collective self-reliance which is neither a political slogan nor an attempt to substitute North-South cooperation. It has a rationale of its own based on the ties, the surplus resources and skills in the developing countries that remain to be harnessed and are frequently wasted or misdirected. At the same time collective self-reliance is an essential element in the structural readjustments necessary in the international economy.

The full potential of collective self-reliance can be realised only if it is pursued in an enlightened manner, is based on a radical departure from the basic motivations and features characterising North-South relations. Collective self-reliance should also be seen as a dynamic process which not only involves the fullest utilisation of the existing capacities but also creates new complentarities and capacities, forges new links and finds new ways of solving the common problems of the developing countries. National development plans provide the most useful if not indispensable basis for identifying complementarities among the nonaligned and developing countries. Therefore the strengthening of the planning process and machinery in our countries can make a significant contribution to the promotion of economic and technical cooperation amongst us.

The Colombo action programme for economic cooperation added a new dimension to the nonaligned movement and opened a new chapter in its history. During the Colombo summit and soon thereafter, number of new initiatives were taken and new ideas were advanced. These included the nonaligned solidarity fund, association of council of producers, association of nonaligned information and research system, the project developments fund, etc. Unfortunately in spite of the laudable effort of the coordinators most of these and other schemes and proposals included in the action programme are languishing for lack of political will on the part of the member countries. By far the greatest contribution that the summit can make to the strength and viability of the movement is to revive its action programme for economic cooperation. It is time for us to demonstrate that collective self-reliance is not just a cliche to be used from time to time but it can be translated into a concrete time-bound dynamic programme of mutual economic cooperation to the implementation of which we are all committed. India has come to this summit prepared for taking an initiative that may be needed for revitalising the action programme. India has already called on the UNCTAD for the launching of a new round of tariff negotiations among the developing countries and indicated its willingness to participate on the basis of up to fifty-percent tariff concession in such negotiations. Recently we held a highly successful meeting in Delhi of experts from consultancy organisations of nonaligned and other developing countries which has made concrete recommendations for setting up a project developing facility. I hope that it would be possible for the summit to take a positive decision for the establishment of this facility, which is urgently needed, for taking full advantage of the existing complementarities among the nonaligned countries.

We have also submitted for consideration by the summit conference a study prepared by a leading consultancy organisation of India on the fullest use of complementarities among nonaligned and other developing countries. The scope and extent of possible cooperation that is revealed in this study should be an encouragement and a challenge to all of us.

Chairman, we have felt for some time that the hiatus that was prevailed between the programme for economic and technical cooperation among developing countries and the actual performance has in large part been due to inadequate or ineffective instrument of enforcement.

We therefore think that it is important to consider the establishment of a small ad hoc committee at a high political level which can monitor the implementation of such programmes.

Chairman, I now turn to another issue, namely energy, which is of vital concern to most nonaligned and developing countries and the solution of which is of critical importance to us all. The worst sufferers from the current energy situation have been the oil importing developing countries. In the case of India half of our total imports were accounted for by oil. The increase in oil prices effected this year imposed an additional burden of about $1.4 billion. What is more, the nonaligned and developing countries are also facing the problem of securing the bare minimum levels of supply of oil from the world market in which they have to compete with the developed countries. The present situation has seriously undermined our development efforts and made the prospects for the future ever more uncertain. We do not question the right of our friends, members of the OPEC, to take steps to obtain just and remunerative prices for their raw materials and dispose of their national wealth in a manner they deem fit. But one thing which must be clear to them is that while the developed countries have their methods and means of making up for what they have to pay, the developing countries have to face a critical situation which may bring to a complete standstill their development plans. We hope that there is no lack of desire on the part of the members of the OPEC to take such steps as may enable us to overcome what has become a major impediment to development. We are encouraged by the announcement of the president of Iraq to provide interest-free long-term loans. We are also encouraged by the recent initiative of the nonaligned countries in this field culminating in the unanimous report submitted by the consultative group which was convened by the Government of Guyana prior to this summit conference. It should be possible for the conference to take the necessary action towards implementing the major recommendations of the group. Nothing will contribute more to the strength of the movement and to the collective self-reliance of the members than concrete actions for mitigating the acute sufferings of many of its members.

To conclude, we have grounds for confidence and no cause for despair about our unity and utility. Our strength in the ultimate analysis depends on our political and economic self-reliance and adherence to our principles and goals. The odds are heavy and the pressures against our movement continue. But if we can with maturity and wisdom act together as we did in dethroning colonialism, we can make nonalignment the motor for establishing a new world order.

Chairman, to be nonaligned is to be aligned with truth, and as our national motto confidently proclaims "satyameva jayute--truth alone triumphs."

Mali's Moussa Traore

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[Speech by Brig Gen Moussa Traore, president of the Republic of Mali, at the 6 September morning session of the nonaligned countries sixth summit conference held at Havana's Palace of Conventions, speaking in French with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr Chairman, after Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo, Havana, the homeland of the great national hero, the great humanist philosopher, Jose Marti, is today the site of the important meetings of the sixth summit of our movement. Your beautiful and hospitable capital, which is charged with history, feels legitimate pride for being the site of this meeting.

The event is important and one has to emphasize it to consider its total historical scope, that is, that for the first time in the history of our movement we are meeting in Latin America, a rich and generous continent. And perhaps because of this, it is a continent often convulsing in political storms but which has been able to carry out--thanks to its sublime faith in the sacred values of man's liberty and dignity--the heroic and memorable struggles which have been an inspiration to the struggles of the people of Africa and Asia.

Mr Chairman, that this first meeting in Latin America is held in Cuba and that so many member countries of our movement are represented by chiefs of state or government is not a fortuitous event. It is the expression of deserved homage which is paid firstly to its brave people and then to your illustrious person of world dimensions. [applause]

Mr Chairman, you will understand the profound happiness in participating in this free Cuban soil in the sessions of this sixth summit of our movement. I would like, on behalf of my delegation, to thank you for your discrete and spontaneous hospitality and at the same time congratulate you for your brilliant election to the chairmanship of this sixth summit. I take this opportunity to express to you our pleasure in behalf of the Malian people and its party--the Malian People's Democratic Union--and in my own name, our profound and friendly congratulations for the achievements made by the brave Cuban people, its party and leader, our dear friend, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, to whom we wish good health so that for a long time he can continue inspiring the Cuban revolution for a better future for the Cuban people and for all the people who love peace and liberty. [applause]

Mr Chairman, the Republic of Mali, a young but at the same time an old country, which had the privilege of being one of the 25 participants in the first summit conference in Belgrade, freely opted for nonalinement which in our opinion is the only doctrine which proposed a model of international relations which conformed to the evolution of our age, our ethics, our national imperatives and the profound aspirations of our people. From that time, the Republic of Mali has been loyal in the strict observance of the fundamental principles of our movement which are definitely linked in the political area with respect for the states sovereignty and the right of every people to self-determination. In the economic area, nonalinement continues being the most objective position in favoring of promoting effective cooperation between the so-called developed and developing countries to reduce inequality among the rich.

In Mali, we refuse to maintain a pretended neutral attitude in face of the great international problems--African or extra-African. We believe indifference to be something fundamentally prejudicial to peace, that is, the passive complicity as regards the serious international political or economic problems. Therefore, Mali reserves the right to take positions on every serious international problem. It has always made its voice heard and it always takes on its right to struggle for people and especially for the people of the Third World. We have always tried to search for and provide our contribution to solving these serious problems through a defined militant action based on analysis of the views and principles of our movement which are called anticolonial, anti-apartheid, rejection of all alliances which alienate our liberty, respect for territorial integrity of the states and rejection of conflict settlement by force, in sum, opposition to any form of political, military, cultural or economic domination.

Mr Chairman, dear colleagues, honorable delegates, peace, which is evoked by all, nevertheless appears on all fronts to be in a more precarious position than ever before. New centers of tension have been added to those existing which have not been eliminated as was hoped for in at least some of the cases. Everything seems as if the decolonization process, whose accelerated history we all know about, has been detained at present.

In this way, in southern Africa the most merciless racism continues subjugating in its most abject form--apartheid. At the same time, the same regime of the white racists maintain this hateful system over the fraternal Namibian people. The heroic struggle of the Namibian people under the lucid guidance of SWAPO will not get lost in the labyrinth of a pretended internal settlement which is attempting to repeat the grotesque strategy applied with evident failure in Zimbabwe. In both places the illegal and racist Pretoria regime only pretends that it is negotiating to have time to consolidate its military apparatus, to be better able to subjugate that territory which is under international status. Pretoria continues supporting the rebel Ian Smith, who by placing some blacks in his administration, has given false impressions to his ingenous African accomplices who believe that they are now independent. The electoral farce held this past April in Zimbabwe, under the threat of the bayonets and with the support of the mass media, only had the effect of consolidating the illegal constitution which Ian Smith imposed on the brave Zimbabwian people.

In admitting the Patriotic Front as a full member of this movement today, a significant part of the international community consecrates a state of affairs in the political reality, that is, that the Zimbabwian people are carrying out their liberation struggle under the aegis of its sole representative, the Patriotic Front, which alone, and I repeat, alone has forced the white power to become black by setting up some black puppets. In this way, in Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe, the same illegal power--because it enjoys the complacency, that is, the understanding of some Western powers--which continues is perfidious, arrogant, irresponsible and unfortunately tolerated.

The Malian people, in identifying with these millions of men, for its part refuses to consider themselves totally free and independent as long as colonialism and apartheid continue to exist. The people of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe, as all peoples who have chosen to be worthy and free, will know how to seize their territories' independence and territorial integrity.

Mr Chairman, as regards the unfortunate and fratricidal conflict existing in the northwest of the African Continent, Mali sees with approval the historical decision of the African chiefs of state taken at the 16th [OAU] summit conference in Monrovia to adopt in its entirety the reports of its ad hoc committee which submitted important recommendations consecrating the sacrosanct principle of peoples' self-determination and the need to allow the Western Saharan people to exercise their own inalienable right to self-determination. As was provided for in the dispositions of the decision at the 16th summit in this regards, the important efforts should be continued with all interested parties taking part in useful talks to achieve a solution in accordance with the higher interests of the people of that region for peace and stability. Any other way can only aggravate the state of tension in the subregion and lead to the unleashing of a conflagration among fraternal peoples who have the same history, culture and the same principal concerns for development, and where the sovereignty of all the states involved was usurped for a long time by the extra-African powers.

Therefore, the Republic of Mali Government believes that only the African process which has been initiated can have the adherence of all parties, causing the failure of the great extra-African maneuvers and intrigues, which tend to internationalize this regrettable fratricidal and regional conflict and which they try to build up to then serve as arbiters in the conflict. The nonalined movement would fail its ideals if it did not allow the Western Saharan people to exercise their sacred right of self-determination. The movement should entrust this to Africa and support the OAU, the regional organization in its efforts to search for peace.

Because we have potential and political will we have the conditions for a successful new strategy which the Republic of Mali Government formally proposes and which would be called the Havana strategy. First of all, we should be aware that our economic problems will only be resolved by ourselves. There is already proof that we have the right and that we can only count on our own efforts. We have to consider ourselves as the only ones responsible for the economic and social development of our people. Nor can we forget that the economic independence of our states will strengthen our political independence and that it will even strengthen our capabilities to continue being nonalined. It is based on the principles of our movement and I would like to suggest that it therefore be called the Havana strategy.

Mr Chairman, dear colleagues, honorable delegates, to carry out the noble and high objectives of our movement we should maintain and strengthen our cohesion in face of all tests. In this regard, we have to double our vigilance because the happy increase of our movement also brings ineluctable deficiencies which are the heterogeneous nature and the human disposition to be associated by affinities. Therefore, after the last ministerial conference in Belgrade, there was the imperative need to search for appropriate ways and means to strengthen our movement, which by becoming vaster, is now more fragile because it is more vulnerable.

Mr Chairman: The consolidation of our unity and reaffirmation of our solidarity are based first of all on our strict observance of all the principles and regulations to which we all freely subscribed. Now more than ever we have to commit ourselves to be loyal to the spirit and letter of the original principles of our movement. Above all, we have to always observe a true policy of nonalinement with regard to blocs. This is where our power lies. Therefore, we can pass judgment on world affairs because in acting in this manner we will continue enjoying the immense respect which we have been able to get from the blocs.

Mr Chairman, The indispensable strengthening of our movement also forces us to present an image of a true democracy in interstate relations. We should search for a true democratization of our movement, above all regarding the operation of its various mechanisms. In effect, Mr Chairman, we have criticized too much the working methods and administration regulations of the UN organization not to improve ceaselessly regulations on democracy in the heart of our movement. At this price, our movement will obtain decisive victories on the double economic and political front. It is essential for the effectiveness of our permanent action that each member feel comfortable in our movement. We have to improve the procedures and conditions which allow every member to express themselves without any limitation and to participate fully in the decisions which will be made on behalf of the movement and which commits everyone. We should do everything to avoid a crisis of confidence and, therefore, a weakening of the movement.

Mr Chairman, A movement such as ours forges its own dynamism. Therefore, it cannot accommodate the untenable position of established hierarchies. This would be arteriosclerosis, routine, indifference and any other thing which is contrary to a true democratization process.

In a more particular way, the Coordinating Bureau should continue being the indispensible instrument of coordination charged between summits with continuing to execute our decisions. But this instrument should also continue the work between the summit conferences at the only level in which our sovereign states cannot be the depository of our sovereignty. [sentence as heard] The Coordination Bureau is and should continue being a comfortable, practical and useful structure to assure the continuity of our movement which is not an organization and, therefore, does not have permanent organs.

Last, Mr Chairman, our movement should avoid falling into the easy trap of a paralyzing bureaucratization.

The present light and functional mechanisms are in accordance with the juridical nature of our movement and adapted to its political reality. Therefore, they are enough. And we should seek to improve only its democratic operation.

Mr Chairman, dear colleagues, honorable delegates: This sixth summit of our movement is held in a decisive era of mankind's history, in a period which is a prelude to great and fundamental changes. The political liberation of the people is the prime directive of our movement and, in spite of important results, will not be culminated as long as Zionism and apartheid and Zionism [as heard] affect world peace by the inhuman brutality and aggressiveness that characterize their philosophy.

Our movement must continue its pursuit of economic liberation which will require of its members a higher sense of solidarity because the forces of exploitation still are sharpening their weapons and their strategy to insure continuity of their domination.

We have a historic responsibility. And I express the hope before this great assembly, the greatest that could have gathered on the earth, that we will perform our duty.

The Republic of Mali states its will, which has been expressed many times, to make our movement an instrument equal to its international responsibilities. The Republic of Mali reiterates its total readiness for the cause of the movement of nonalined countries which today more than ever must remain at the service of peace and establishment of a more just and equitable new political, economic, social and cultural order.

Long live the movement of nonalined countries at the service of peace and progress. Thank you. [applause]

Guinea's Sekou Toure

FL111507 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 2054 GMT 6 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure at 6 September morning session of nonalined countries sixth summit; in French with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrade Chairman, your excellencies, chiefs of state and government: The current meeting of the nonalined countries, the sixth summit, is taking place in Havana, the hard-working capital of the Socialist Republic of Cuba. The name of Cuba, following the fall of the bourgeois reign whose last version was Batista's dictatorship, thanks to the heroic, bloody and permanent combat of this country's revolutionary people under the resolute, firm and determined leadership of our Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz and the name of Cuba, we said--has become the symbol of an attitude of firmness and revolutionary vigilance, a name which all working classes of the world's continents utter with respect and admiration; a name which in the midst of the great family of nonalined countries becomes a reference of rigorous loyalty to the sacred cause of suffering mankind which struggles for a world of true justice, of true freedom, of responsibility and of effective democracy; a world in which all the peoples of whatever race or religious belief or color or nationality may live free from all relations of alinement, practices of oppression, practicing justice and solidarity to assure a real and lasting peace.

Imperialism's strength is based on corruption of the cadres of some of our nation's leadership. Our maturity can be found in the courageous recognition of our mistakes and by no means less courageous determination to end them to recover all that potential possessed by our peoples.

In order to insure for our socio-economic means a growing development, we should effectively practice a policy of real independence, a policy of full responsibility, a policy of total dignity after proclaiming our firm will of nonalinement. The new nonalinement means neither noncommitment nor indifference, inasmuch as between good and evil we are neither neutral nor indifferent. We have chosen between colonization and national independence. We have chosen between apartheid and racial equality. We have chosen between economic subjugation of the nations and the free and full enjoyment of the people's production efforts. We have chosen to adopt our responsibilities as sovereign peoples committed to the production effort to achieve a future based on domestic and foreign equality. Our path, the Guinean people's path, is to practice the revolution that destroys the evil forces, that is, all types of exploitation and oppression of man by man and the popular masses by the exploiting bourgeoisie. We have chosen the socialist revolution which liberates man and the masses, socializing the individual and humanizing society. The era of values, the era of responsibility, the era of efficiency in the struggle is here. It is necessary for the sixth nonalined summit to allow us to build a collective sovereignty, taking into consideration the existence of blocs and the interdependence of various international groups. We should do everything possible so that the dialog we conduct with one or another faction always will be in accordance with the collective interests of nonalined countries. [applause] It is necessary that our movement never be at the service of any bloc or superpower whatever it might be--North America, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France or the PRC.

Our movement, as a result of a courageous and responsible attitude, should be at the service of our people's aspirations and know how to resist all types of foreign pressure aimed at modifying its actions. Above all, it is necessary to be determined to move on from simple hopes to concrete realizations. Since the creation of the nonalined movement, the idea of a rational organization has been manifested. But, in the face of the violent reaction of the blocs, some members of the nonalined movement have said that it is not a problem of creating a third bloc but to rationalize better the functions of the movement by providing a real organization and information agency to be better prepared in dealing with the two blocs. The organization should never be at the service of personal ambitions or interests of groups of countries, but should represent the totality of its members.

Africa, for example, should have a subdivision or continental body of nonalined countries for those African states which are members of the general conference. The same should be the case for Asia, Latin America and Europe. Due to the specificity of some problems, the Asians are more capable than the Latin Americans or Africans to examine certain problems occurring in Asia. That is why we should have continental bodies.

The nonalined countries demand respect for the rights of all peoples to freedom and dignity. They demand a new international order based on just foundations with equal relations in all fields. They resolutely reject the practice of domination and supremacy of material force over the rights and aspirations of the peoples. Therefore, they should fight rigorously and with vigor against imperialism and all other forces subjugating peoples, exploiting and oppressing man by man. The nonalined countries should reinforce the actions of the Group of 77 in international negotiations on commerce and trade for an equitable exploitation of the productions of developing countries, whose standards of living tragically diminish while those of developed countries continue to increase. In this way, the gap separating the economic living conditions of the two categories of countries continues to widen. The new international economic order should include all dimensions of thought and creative activities of the peoples as well as the requirements for their development, all aspects of the historic life of the nations.

It is a matter of promoting in all continents the total and effective emancipation of all social entities. War, aggression, political and economic domination which make people lose their identity and trample on their moral values, must be eliminated. Our countries are nonalined over the forces of evil, over the forces hostile toward the people. They are nonalined before the principles of inequality and injustice. Above all, they are nonalined in matters which place peace and security of the nations in jeopardy. On the contrary, our countries are resolutely alined in matters related to their legitimate aspirations for peace and justice, everything that tends to develop its harmonious and independent development, all just aspects favoring the historic progress of mankind. Our organization must be well aware that it is not the appendix of any bloc, that it must only support the initiatives and attitudes which are in agreement with the ideals it preaches and whose realization requires its action. In effect, among the nonalined countries are all types of social and political regimes in existence in the world.

The Western Sahara problem is of serious concern to the African people. This constitutes a motive for a number of actions by the Organization of African Unity in the search for a just and definitive solution.

Comrade President: We all know that the greatness of a nation cannot be based on the dimensions of its territory or the number of its population or its military capability. The greatness of a nation, the prestige of a nation, the prestige enjoyed throughout the world by a regime are the result of their serious and continued efforts for the general progress of the world's people. It is the function of the justness of its ideology, of its concrete positions with respect to the legitimate aspirations of the broad working masses of all countries.

Any blockade against a combatant people will always be illusory. A revolutionary people, useful to humanity, can never be or will never be isolated. [applause] The truth can never be isolated. Justice and progress which constitute the permanent and general aspirations of the people of all races will never be isolated. It is imperialism that is isolated. It is injustice that is isolated throughout the world and in all societies. [applause]

It is no secret that South Africa has the multiform support of all imperialist superpowers in its policy of racial oppression against Africans, who are the natural owners of the country. In Namibia and Zimbabwe, the apartheid forces are torturing and daily perpetrating crimes against those people, massacring men, women and youths whose only crime is to fight for freedom. In Mozambique, Zambia, Angola, Lesotho and Tanzania, the racist forces conduct murdering air raids in reprisal for the support those countries give to the liberation movement--SWAPO in Namibia, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe.

We respectfully salute our dean, Josip Broz Tito, president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who despite his age continues to work like a militant youth with his young brothers and sons in the project that should fundamentally change the international situation with the victory of justice over inequality, the victory of freedom over slavery, the victory of the right to social progress over imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and Zionism. For democratic progress, down with imperialism! For our peoples' victory, down with colonialism! For justice in the world, down with racism and Zionism! Long live the Socialist Republic of Cuba! Long live the nonalined countries movement! [applause]

PDRY's Isma'il

FL111845 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0251 GMT 7 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by 'Abd al-Fatah Isma'il, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, at the 6 September evening session of the sixth nonalined countries summit in Havana; in Arabic with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Text] Comrade Chairman, messrs heads of state, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, I address you, Mr Chairman, and through you, the friendly Cuban

people, to express our warmest congratulations for holding the sixth summit conference of the nonalined countries in the beautiful city of Havana, capital of your country.

The selection of Havana to host the conference and your election as chairman represent for Cuba a proof of honor and proof of the important place Cuba holds, as well as an expression of the respect Cuba enjoys in the nonalined movement.

Now that I am congratulating you, Mr Chairman, for your election as chairman of this historic conference, I should like to tell you that I am totally convinced of your great qualification to direct our work. I am also convinced that our efforts, united and intensified, will result in the success of your conference and will consolidate the role of the movement in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and for liberation, progress and peace.

Mr Chairman, our world has seen a number of liberations from colonialism as a result of the destruction of colonial domination in our countries and recovery of our people's independence. These revolutions have not emerged from nothing. There is no objection to them. The Great October Socialist Revolution, the advent of an era of changes toward socialism and the people's awakening for freedom and progress were the starting point for the establishment of independent states in the former colonies.

Recently, to speak of equality, freedom and independence and ways for independent social development was nothing more than a dream, an illusion. Today, on the other hand, the emancipation of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the fall of dictatorial regimes like in Portugal, Ethiopia and Iran, the triumph of the socialist revolution in Cuba in the heart of the Western Hemisphere and the reunification of Vietnam gives us the right to foresee the total victory of the will of the people in other regions of the world.

The march of history is in fact irreversible. The people of Nicaragua recently proclaimed their liberation from the dictatorship of the Somoza family and joined our movement. We must give our support to these people in their economic and social reconstruction efforts in their country.

We should also give our militant solidarity to the people of Puerto Rico in their struggle for self-determination and total liberation against North American imperialist domination.

The family of the nonalined movement is growing constantly thanks to the liberation of new nations from the colonial and imperialist yoke. In the immediate future, the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and others, which still suffer from the yoke of colonialism, racism and Zionism and from dictatorial regimes, will join the group of free nations which are bearers of progress and belong to our movement.

Mr Chairman, the participation of a great number of independent countries in this conference clearly underscores that our countries are masters of their destiny and that no force can make them return to the era of imperialism and colonialism or can oppose the demands of history and its irrevocable process.

Permit me, on behalf of Democratic Yemen, to welcome the delegations of Nicaragua, Grenada, Suriname and Bolivia as new members of our movement. I also wish to congratulate Iran, Pakistan and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front--as the legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle against racism and its allies--for their admission to our movement.

Furthermore, it should be said that the struggles waged over the past 2 decades indicate that the number of states in the nonalined movement will increase. The movement has changed the world's balance of forces in favor of revolutionary movements throughout the world and peace.

Mr Chairman, no country among us has been the object of colonial oppression, no country has been the object of plundering exploitation and aggressive plots of imperialism against its sovereignty. [sentence as heard] There is a long road ahead in gaining the independence of our countries and freedom throughout the world.

The policy of subordination, plundering, domination and aggressive plots by world imperialism against developing countries require from the nonalined countries the adoption of an anticolonialist position hostile to imperialism and its lackeys. It is within this context that we have confirmed with great satisfaction the role played by the movement since its creation in the struggle for national liberation, progress and peace, and against the influence of world imperialism, particularly North American imperialism.

In our opinion, it is up to this conference to assume the responsibility of preserving the liberating nature that has always characterized the movement over recent years, as well as of strengthening the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and Zionism and for national liberation, social progress and peace in the entire world.

Comrade Chairman, today we are witnessing a period of struggle between the world socialist system and the imperialist system. For this reason, our countries and peoples cannot be separated from this conflict. Neither can we ignore the political events that occur on the international arena. We must define the concept and orientation of our movement.

It is also up to us, above all, to determine the friends of the people's liberation struggles and their enemies to learn what regimes are a threat to the independence and sovereignty of our countries and what regimes want to exploit our resources and obstruct the process of social liberation.

The recent history of the struggle of our peoples completely reflects these issues and characteristics of colonialism and imperialism as enemies that obstruct the independence of our countries.

The socialist countries, on the other hand, have always been allies that have supported and support the struggles of our peoples for freedom, independence and progress. It is in this same sense that we confirm that your speech has been a reflection of the evolution of the people's struggle within our movement in keeping with the objectives and principles of the international liberation movements. For this reason, the speech should be considered as an important document of this conference and a source of inspiration for the future processes which our movement will undertake in the struggle for freedom, independence and peace.

Mr Chairman, the importance of our conference derives from the nature of the international situation that exists at this time and the reality of the problems that our conference must analyze. The agenda for our work contains quite urgent issues for the future of our peoples and it is to the extent that the conference finds solutions to these problems with a spirit of responsibility that the aspirations of our peoples will materialize and, as a result, that of the level and role of our movement to which we are proud to belong.

This success will be guaranteed by the unity of our movement on the basis of its inherent principles; the preservation of the gains made regarding national independence, economic liberation and social development; the principles of self-determination; people's full sovereignty over their territory and natural resources; and support for the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, Zionism and any manifestation of racial discrimination.

These are the principles of our movement that will help to achieve its objectives and for which our movement struggles. These principles, fought by the imperialist forces and their followers, will always be supported militantly by the world's progressive and socialist forces.

Mr Chairman, your excellencies, we have confirmed that imperialist plans hostile to our movement are beginning to be expanded and manifested in a dangerous, multiple and varied manner for the purpose of obstructing the people's struggles in our movement for freedom, national sovereignty, development and proper exploitation of our countries' resources.

Numerous actions and declarations offer proof of these plans whether I the Arab Gulf or the Middle East. In spite of the important successes of the people's struggles for freedom and national sovereignty and in spite of the progress made for international detente, the prevailing international situation continues to be disconcerting because of the existence of wars provoked by international imperialist forces against the will of nations, stability and world peace.

Mr Chairman, your excellencies, the situation in the Middle East is degrading constantly and threatens to explode as a result of the persistent occupation of the Zionists who refuse to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories with the support of the North American imperialists.

The policy aimed at converting the rights of the Arab nation into a market [as heard] as a result of the Camp David agreements between As-Sadat and the Zionist state sponsored by North American imperialism.

The latest events specifically confirm that the peace treaty is nothing more than an open plot against the Arab nations and their sovereignty. We are firmly convinced that the situation in the Middle East conspires against the stability of Arab countries. We must struggle for the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, including their return to self-determination and the creation of a national independent state led by the PLO.

Democratic Yemen vigorously condemns the treacherous policy of As-Sadat's regime in alliance with the Zionist states and United States of America. It likewise strongly condemns the American policy which ignores Palestinian rights and tries to eliminate the Palestinian cause by encouraging bilateral agreements and partial solutions that will only aggravate tension in the Middle East and accentuate the dangers that threaten international peace and security.

We also condemn the parties involved in these agreements and reaffirm the right of the PLO to reject any agreement that does not resolve the Palestinian problem and ignores the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

We likewise reaffirm our total support for the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO in their just struggle, through all means at its disposal, against the Zionist occupation of Palestine so that the Palestinian people can fully exercise their inalienable rights.

We demand that this conference severely condemn the puppet regime of As-Sadat which has committed an act of high treason against the Palestinian Arab peoples.

Mr Chairman, more than one region is exposed to the threat of world imperialism. The threat of American imperialism to occupy the oil fields and create a fifth fleet in the Indian Ocean, provocations by such a fleet in the Persian Gulf and the strengthening of its base in Diego Garcia are actions that threaten security and stability in the entire world as well as world peace.

Thus, the nonalined countries must condemn these acts of aggression fomented by North American imperialism against the oil-producing countries in the Arab Gulf. Democratic Yemen vigorously condemns the North American threats against the oil-producing countries and calls on the nonalined movement member states to condemn the American maneuvers and support the countries threatened by the United States of America.

It also calls on the conference to support the struggle of the people of Oman under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman against the foreign presence and to create an independent and democratic country.

Regarding the Indian Ocean issue, Democratic Yemen condemns the increasing North American military presence there and requests the member countries of our movement to intensify their political actions and adopt a firm position so that the Indian Ocean can be an ocean of peace, peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Mr Chairman, the peoples of the African Continent expect our conference to support their just struggle to gain their national liberation and continue their march toward social progress. Our country considers it necessary to support the struggle of the people of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and [name indistinct] under the leadership of the Patriotic Front against the racist regimes and for national independence and sovereignty.

Regarding the Western Sahara problem, our country rejects any examination of this issue which it considers an internal conflict between Algeria and Morocco. Our country is convinced that the struggle of the Western Saharan people is a just one that should be supported by all peace-loving countries. At this time, we feel quite satisfied with the agreement made between Mauritania and the POLISARIO Front. We demand that Morocco make a similar gesture and withdraw its forces from Western Saharan territories and recognize the right of the Western Saharan people to self-determination without foreign interference. In our opinion, this process will sweep away North American imperialism, obtain favorable conditions for the stability of the people of the region and concentrate efforts and potentials to opposition to the Camp David agreements.

Mr Chairman, regarding the situation in Latin America, the government of our country strongly condemns the imperialist blockade imposed on Cuba by North American imperialism and warmly hails the determination of the Cuban people to confront this blockade and their great victory in building socialism and strengthening their struggle for the elimination of the North American military base in Guantanamo.

Dear Comrade Chairman, we have been inspired by the experience of the Cuban people and their struggle to oppose the plots of North American imperialism and world reaction and to continue the march toward social progress.

Cuba has resisted, despite being so close to North American imperialism. Inspired by this resistance, numerous countries of our movement today are resisting and continuing their struggle for liberation and progress.

You can feel certain that Democratic Yemen will always be on your side and will support the struggles of the people of Latin America to eliminate North American imperialism in the political as well as in the military and economic fields.

Mr Chairman, crises and centers of tension everywhere in the world are being provoked by the continuation of the policy of interference in all its forms and force is being used in settling political affairs.

Mr Chairman, in our country we have devoted our internal and external efforts so that our country can play an active role in our movement. Since the independence of our nation, our country has undertaken the anti-imperialist, anticolonialist, anti-Zionist and antireactionary struggle. Numerous progressive transformations have been undertaken in the political, economic and social fields to raise the standard of living of our people.

Our country also supports the causes of liberation, progress, peace and socialism. It gives its modest contribution to the nonalined countries, which are a source of inspiration for our anti-imperialist position. In spite of these efforts, Mr Chairman, the imperialist and reactionary forces do not cease to disturb our regions and provoke local wars to strengthen their domination over the resources and potentials of our countries.

Both parts of Yemen are the setting for the majority of these maneuvers as a result of the strategy and importance they represent for the imperialist states and because of the Yemeni people's aspirations of freedom and reunification of their homeland. These are legitimate aspirations that are contrary to the interests of the imperialist forces. If in recent years both parts of Yemen have succeeded in causing the failure of imperialist and reactionary forces that were attempting to deteriorate relations between the two Yemens; if, after the Kuwait declaration of March 1979, we have succeeded in advancing toward the implementation of agreements based on unity, it is no less true that these forces continue to obstruct the reunification of the two Yemens.

This conference is called upon to reaffirm its support and to continue working to unite the Yemeni people. In fact, we believe that the reunification of Yemen, its territorial integrity and the safeguard of its sovereignty are some of the important factors for stability in the region and are in the interest of the nonalinement policy and rights of peoples.

Regarding stability in the region, Democratic Yemen on various occasions has reaffirmed that security in the Red Sea basin must be based on the security of coastal states. This can only lead to the creation of a stable zone in that region.

Interference in the internal affairs of states and nonrespect for sovereignty cannot serve, under any circumstance, security in the region and can only increase tension and multiply the difficulties of our peoples in their efforts to insure security and progress. For this reason, we want this region to be separated from military alliances and expect that this conference will support our appeal to safeguard peace and stability in that region and fight against aggressive military pacts and alliances.

Mr Chairman, regarding the situation in Southeast Asia, we (?hail) the victory of the Kampuchean people and their selection of real freedom and independence. My country supports the Government of Kampuchea under the leadership of the Kampuchea People's Revolutionary Council. Lastly, we call on the nonalined countries to allow Kampuchea to contribute with its positive role on the side of the other member states of the movement for the realization of people's aspirations of freedom, independence, sovereignty and control of their resources.

Yemen reaffirms its irrevocable support for the people and Government of Cyprus as well as for their position of principles based on the respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

Democratic Yemen also reaffirms its respect for Cyprus' sovereignty over its territory and demands an end to all forms of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces, as well as the elimination of all foreign presence. It reaffirms its support for negotiations between the two Cypriot communities for the purpose of finding a settlement acceptable to both sides in keeping with the declaration of our movement on this issue.

Mr Chairman, the problem of economic and social development that should attract our attention is closely linked to the standard of living of our peoples, who are still suffering the burden of underdevelopment and dependence. After the colonial domination and exploitation by foreign societies and monopolies, the underdeveloped countries, as a result of the current economic crisis, are facing the effects of inflation and the policies of capitalist countries. Thus, we need to close ranks and conduct a hard struggle for the reorganization of the world economic system in order to establish a new international economic order that guarantees our sovereignty over our natural resources, ends the arms race, increases the standard of living by using the resources of our peoples and favors world peace and security.

Within the framework of international cooperation, we confirm with disappointment the discouraging results of negotiations between developing and developed countries. The intransigency of capitalist countries shows that they want to preserve their interests and plunder the resources of developing countries. Thus, it is important and necessary to implement the principle of liberating the resources and wealth of the nonalined countries from the domination by imperialist monopolies and translate this principle into clear programs and plans designed to achieve results in favor of economic development and an increased standard of living.

The developing countries have great potential and the prospects for mutual cooperation have no limit. It is important that we strengthen this orientation followed by developing countries. Undoubtedly, the strengthening of cooperation and a sincere political will shall help to liberate the economies of our countries and insure their economic development.

Mr Chairman, the peoples of the nonalined countries are looking to us in Havana, to this historic conference, and expect positive results from it that will bring about aid and assistance in their just struggle for national independence and social progress. Thank you, Mr Chairman. [applause]

Malta's Brincat

FL121542 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1552 GMT 7 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Malta's Deputy Prime Minister Joseph Brincat at the 6 September evening session of the nonalined countries sixth summit conference at Havana's Palace of Conventions; in English with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr President, Your Excellencies: Allow me to congratulate you for the victory of the revolutionary movement in Nicaragua. [acting chairman of the session is the Nicaraguan representative] I am the bearer of the warmest greetings of the people of the Republic of Malta for the leaders of the nonalined world and all distinguished delegates meeting here.

It has now almost become a ritual to thank the host country for the hospitality accorded all of us. In joining those who preceded me, I must express my gratitude to the Cuban officials who have extended so many courtesies to us.

In our movement, more than diplomacy, we need honesty. More than precaution, we need vigorous action. Nonalinement is not a hide-and-seek game, it is a genuine aspiration of the nations to reverse history's perennial tendency for the big and powerful to subjugate the small. In reality, we have ceased to be small and helpless.

In the economic field, the movement has made a decisive impact. The truth of the matter is that we have to work hard to achieve a new international economic order. It is equally true that the developed world has been forced to adapt itself to the idea that a world at peace is only possible when the benefits of world wealth are distributed equitably. We are all aware that we must control our resources and devote our attention to objectives we seek through a program of action for economic cooperation between developing countries.

The role and mandate of the Coordinating Bureau is a matter of significant importance for us, whether it be from the political and economic viewpoint or the functional viewpoint. Three years ago, the Colombo summit adopted recommendations for the composition and mandate of the Coordinating Bureau. Since then, some members have expressed their views on the bureau's role.

My government, therefore, proposes that the Coordinating Bureau be directed to examine in great detail the forms in which the various geographical areas of our movement may be empowered to take action in specific cases. In those cases where there are no adequate structures, it should submit proposals for the creation of sub-bureaus responsible to the Coordinating Bureau in the various meetings of the nonalined movement.

Mr President: Based on this, I would like to focus special attention on the Mediterranean and, particularly, on Malta's effective and practical contribution to the objectives of nonalinement and peaceful cooperation in the region. On the appointed day, 31 March 1969, the appointment we made with our destiny, without bloodshed or bitterness, the last British troops departed our militarily strategic island fortress--as we were called. That was the last day we saw military uniforms in our land. Malta will continue to be strategic but only for peace. We have told our neighbors that Malta will never be used as a springboard by any power bloc in acts of aggression. It was a memorable day for the people of Malta.

Mr President: I wish to reiterate that Malta is proud to be a member of the nonalined movement, that it will continue to support the positions of the nonalined in the constant search to eliminate injustice, insure freedom and avoid the polarization of the world into two camps. Malta pledges to continue to resist all attempts to draw it into any of the power blocs.

Mr President, comrade delegates: In closing, let me say that just as Malta liberated itself from the military bases, I wish to express to the host country of our summit the courageous and hospitable Cuban people. Malta's understanding and commitment in the struggle for the withdrawal of the military base on its soil against the will of the people. Thank you very much.

SWAPO's Nujoma

FL121412 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1519 GMT 7 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Sam Nujoma, chairman of the South-West African People's Organization at the 6 September evening session of the nonalined countries sixth summit conference at Havana's Palace of Conventions; in English, fading into Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrade Chairman, your excellencies, comrades and friends, ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the SWAPO Central Committee and of the struggling people of

Namibia and on my own behalf, I wish to express to you, Comrade Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Councils of State and Ministers and commander in chief of the Cuban Armed Forces, our pleasure and overwhelming satisfaction of our delegation for your unanimous election to preside over the sixth summit conference of the nonalined countries and to guide the deliberations of this dynamic movement over the next 3 years.

I wish to underscore and emphasize our sincere gratitude to Cuba and its fraternal people for its disinterested total material, political and diplomatic assistance in the struggle being waged by SWAPO to liberate Namibia and gain national independence in order to build a socialist society. May I specifically mention the fact that Cuba, faithful to its internationalist duty, responded to our urgent request to rescue approximately 600 children who survived the Casinga massacre of 4 May 1978 when the fascist troops of the Pretoria ruling junta [as heard] launched an armed invasion against the People's Republic of Angola. These children are now undergoing rehabilitation and are being educated in this country.

Moreover, Cubans are daily struggling and dying with the African people in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism and fascist reaction. [applause]

This is one more revolutionary act of solidarity and we feel deeply moved by it. Thank you very much, comrades.

It is against this background of unselfish support and solidarity of Cuba to the African cause for the total liberation of the continent that we condemn and reject anti-Cuban propaganda and intrigues of the North American government and its allies with the sinister aim of isolating the national liberation movements from their proven and reliable supporters like Cuba.

In the same way, we condemn the continued occupation of the Cuban territory of Guantanamo by North American imperialism.

I tell this great conference of heads of state and government with a mixture of humility and pride that SWAPO is participating as a full member and equal partner with the independent and sovereign states.

In our present capacity, we promise to be more than ever active in the furtherance of the principles and objectives of the nonalined movement. And as member of the bureau of the sixth summit, SWAPO will perform its tasks and duties faithfully and impartially.

Comrade Chairman, this conference is taking place at a time when the political situation is leaning in favor of the national liberation forces which have the active and concrete support of the socialist community, the nonalined countries and the rest of progressive mankind.

The Smith-Muzorewa regime in Rhodesia and the racist Botha regime in South Africa are facing the determined political and armed resistance of the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia. In the face of such a resistance, the racist regimes have been forced to make statements on peaceful settlements in Namibia and Zimbabwe. These statements are employed as camouflage for the oppressors to buy time to consolidate their positions, which are doomed to fail, in order to preserve their socioeconomic privileges in southern Africa by trying to reverse the rising tide of the national liberation struggle.

The racists of the region have undertaken massive arrests torture, intimidation and murder of the patriots of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia.

Furthermore, these enemies of mankind are carrying out constant armed aggressions against the neighboring independent African states of Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique which serve as rear bases for liberation movements. These acts cause considerable losses of life and the destruction of properties.

In order to strengthen the frontline states to continue the revolution more effectively, we appeal to the nonalined movement to provide specific material assistance to these frontline states.

With regard to Namibia, Mr Chairman, the situation has reached a dangerous level during recent months. Since April 1979, after racist South Africa rejected the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, that regime has been involved in a well-calculated and concentrated campaign of repressive measures aimed at the complete destruction of SWAPO. These measures consist of the arrest of men and women who lead, support or sympathize with SWAPO. As a result, all the SWAPO leadership within Namibia are now languishing in jails and concentration camps.

The arrests and detentions are taking place under the terms of the so-called (AG 26) of 1978, promulgated by the South African administrator in Namibia whom the Namibian people regard as an illegal intruder in their country.

These diabolic actions, which were doubly intensified by the end of April 1979, are designed to force the Namibian people to accept the imposition of the so-called National Legislative Assembly (?created) by the Pretoria racist regime on 14 May 1979.

Comrade Chairman: It is our unswerving determination to intensify, expand and continue the armed liberation struggle in all of Namibia until final and decisive victory.

At this point, I wish to report briefly the progress of the armed revolutionary struggle in Namibia from January to July 1979.

During January, the people's revolutionary army of Namibia and its combatants eliminated 110 enemy soldiers and puppets. They shot down 2 planes and destroyed 10 vehicles. During March, the people's revolutionary army and its combatants eliminated 113 enemy soldiers and puppets and destroyed 5 vehicles. During April, the people's revolutionary army of Namibia and its combatants eliminated 31 racist soldiers and puppets. During May, the people's revolutionary army of Namibia and its combatants eliminated 50 enemy soldiers and destroyed 6 vehicles. During June, the people's revolutionary army of Namibia and its combatants eliminated 148 enemy soldiers and puppets, downed 2 planes and destroyed 4 vehicles. During July, the people's revolutionary army of Namibia and its combatants eliminated 30 enemy soldiers, downed 2 planes and 1 helicopter.

These actions forced the enemy to declare martial law in the entire country.

In our noble and just cause, we feel satisfied and encouraged by the overwhelming assurance that this movement will continue giving increasing material, military, political and diplomatic support to our people led by SWAPO.

Before concluding, Comrade Chairman, permit me to refer to your eloquent, clear and correct statements on the current status of the international situation with special emphasis on the areas and issues of particular concern to our movement. For this reason, it was pertinent and appropriate that your inaugural speech be embodied in the documents of this sixth summit conference.

May I also take this opportunity to congratulate my comrade, Oliver Tambo, chairman of the African National Congress of South Africa, who quite brilliantly and convincingly presented the cause of the national liberation movements to this great conference.

Comrade Chairman, Nigeria and the new revolutionary government of Iran deserve special mention for the courageous and exemplary actions they have undertaken to take charge of the former British companies and to cut the supply of oil to racist South Africa. [applause]

We hope that other friendly countries will take similar positive actions.

To conclude, SWAPO expresses its appreciation and welcomes the decision of the Maputo conference to establish a special fund for Namibia.

Finally, Comrade Chairman, I would like to reaffirm our militant and fraternal solidarity with our comrades-in-arms of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front; the heroic people of Vietnam; the PLO of Palestine; and I should like to point out here the fact that the Camp David agreements signed between the United States of America, Israel and Egypt must be condemned and absolutely rejected. There is no country or any person with the right to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people are represented here officially by the PLO, the sole, authentic and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. And, in the opinion of SWAPO, no decision should be made without the participation, decision and agreement of the PLO, which is the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people. [applause]

Our solidarity and support also go to the POLISARIO Front of Western Sahara, the African National Congress of South Africa, the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, the FRETILIN [Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor], the Canary Islands liberation movement, the people of Reunion Islands, and all the other progressive and democratic forces of the world.

Long live the Communist Party of Cuba. Long live the commander in chief, Comrade Castro. Long live the nonalined movement. The struggle, the struggle, the struggle, victory, victory, victory. [applause]

Morocco's Bouabid

LD071832 Rabat Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 7 Sep 79 LD

[Speech by Moroccan Prime Minister Maata Bouabid to the nonalined summit in Havana on 6 September--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr President, Morocco, the Arab Muslim country, is very concerned about the problems of Palestine and the Middle East, which are the greatest tragedies of our age. The sons of Morocco shed their blood in Sinai and on the Golan Heights for the sacred cause, the cause of the whole Arab nation. There is nobody who is ignorant of the tragedy of the Palestinian people, and the Palestine problem is the essence of the Middle East problem which disturbs the conscience of the world and of all peoples who love peace, freedom and justice. The afflicted and steadfast Palestinian people have suffered all forms of usurpation, coercion, (?racism and injustice). An entire people have been driven from their homeland and deprived of their soil and possessions (?and dispersed all over the world).

What is more detestable is that Zionism which [words indistinct] the whole of Palestine is now more than at any other time apparently determined to [words indistinct] by using the most destructive weapons, weapons never used in any other war, as was said here by our struggling brother, Yasir 'Arafat. The international community has strongly condemned in various meetings this criminal policy and disowned its expansionist and [word indistinct] objectives. In this context, resolutions have been adopted--all based on the Palestinian people's recovery of their definite national rights and Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab lands, including Jerusalem.

The international community indubitably expressed (?dissatisfaction) by the establishment of the Jerusalem committee, which was the result of the Islamic conference held recently in Fes. This committee, whose chairmanship was entrusted to His Majesty King Hassan II, was asked to [word indistinct] all actions capable of quickly liberating Jerusalem.

Mr President, we continue to be deeply convinced that any settlement of this problem should be comprehensive and based on the active participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. [applause] This settlement should also lead to complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and Arab lands and enable the Palestinian people to recover their definite national rights, including the right of return, self-determination and the formation of a national state on their land.

Today, Israel is pursuing a policy aimed at [words indistinct] the state of Lebanon and its people. Morocco calls on the world conscience and its press to work for the consolidation of solidarity with the people of Lebanon and to continue all our efforts to maintain Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and integrity. [applause]

Mr President, our African Continent continues to be the stage for another tragedy which is a flagrant challenge not only to Africa but also to the world conscience. By this I mean the presence of minority racial regimes in southern Africa because [words indistinct] of the human race continue to be victims of criminal exploitation based on a policy which contradicts the spirit of the age and [word indistinct] superiority and deprive the original sons of the region of their basic rights, as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter.

We confirm here once again our effective support of the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa for independence and the integrity of their lands under the leadership of their national liberation movements, SWAPO, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe [words indistinct]. [applause]

Mr President, some delegations raised the issue of the so-called "Western Sahara problem" and defended the rights of an alleged Saharan people. It was not my intention to enter a debate or to be driven by emotion, yet I want to recall, Mr President, some facts.

Morocco has always been coveted by colonialist states. While most former colonies had to deal with just one colonial power-Spanish, French, British, Portuguese, Italian, Dutch or Belgian--Morocco suffered a division of its territory: parts in the north and the south went under Spanish control; the center went to France; an international zone was established in the north (Tangiers) and other enclaves came under occupation. This is a unique case in colonial history.

Today, Morocco is faced with a clear-out conspiracy aimed at its sovereignty and territorial integrity. In 1976, there was talk about a Saharan people and a national liberation movement fighting for the independence of this territory. Here we have a few questions to pose to this respectable assembly: Let us set aside emotion and argument and examine the reality of this territory. Is there a Saharan people in this territory only, while the Sahara stretches from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Red Sea in the east? Is there any difference between the inhabitants of Moroccan Sahara and Algerian Sahara or Libyan Sahara, which would confer on the Moroccan Sahara a national character? If we agree that Algeria has a Saharan extension, that Libya has a Saharan extension, on what basis then should some [words indistinct] deny Morocco the right to its Saharan extension?

The myth of a Saharan people was simply an invention by the Franco regime in 1973. Everyone knows that the positions of the Francoist Spanish regime and the socialist Algerian regime have been in accord over the problem of Western Sahara before international forums, as testified by the UN dossiers.

Morocco denounces hegemonist policy; it rejects and confronts it. It will continue to relentlessly confront it since this policy is designed to infringe upon our territorial integrity, which is for us a sacred cause that can never be a subject for bargaining. [applause] Gentlemen, Morocco [words indistinct] by all its various political tendencies is determined to mobilize all the [word indistinct] military, economic means at its disposal to defend its unity and territorial integrity.

I would like, on the other hand, to reaffirm that the fraternal firm [word indistinct] between Morocco and Mauritania will continue in all spheres in the interest of the two peoples of Morocco and Mauritania and for the benefit of the region.

Botswana's Mogwe

FL121550 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1637 GMT 7 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Botswana's external affairs minister, R.A.M. Mogwe, at the 6 September evening session of the sixth nonalined countries summit in Havana; in English fading into Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr Chairman, Your Excellencies: Mr Chairman, may I convey through you [Nicaragua's Sergio Ramirez, chairing the session] to the chairman of the conference of nonalined countries heads of state and government the message of the president of the Republic of Botswana that, owing to other pressing obligations he regrets it was impossible for him to accept in person the kind invitation to attend this sixth summit conference of nonalined countries heads of state and government.

I have listened carefully to many speeches in the past few days. They have been highly inspiring, lengthy, clear and wise. I should not want to adulterate them by repeating them. Therefore, I will identify without comment some of the areas of interest of our movement and will limit myself to a few important issues.

In the view of my delegation, the nonalined summit conference should not be an occasion to merely evaluate the progress made by the nonalined countries in their objectives over the past 3 years. It is an opportunity to set new goals in our observance of the principles of nonalinement and our non-bloc and non-pact character and mutual respect for individual sovereignty, independence and equality.

Progress is being made, although a bit slow, in some areas, such as towards the independence and freedom of colonial nations. We congratulate the island states for the progress they have made in this regard. In other areas, especially in the economic field, no appreciable progress has been made. We nonetheless welcome the mutual support and solidarity which as members of the nonalined movement we display in different international, continental and intercontinental organizations such as the ACP [African, Caribbean and Pacific countries], Group of 77 and United Nations.

Mr Chairman, the armed struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe has reached new heights in recent months. The rebel regime has admitted that more persons died in August of this year, a total of 600, than in any other month in the bloody history of the liberation war. The rebel regime had been warned of an escalation of the struggle after the internal settlement and false elections.

The people of Zimbabwe see themselves dying in great numbers under the Muzorewa government, more so than under Ian Smith, and they wonder what the internal settlement is all about. Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia are constantly attacked under the pretext of pursuing refugees whose numbers are growing out of proportion to the local population.

Amid all this, we are encouraged by the apparent realization on the part of Great Britain that selecting the path of recognizing the decisive contribution which the Patriotic Front has made in the past and is making now, and its role in the struggle for liberation, is selecting the path of reason.

We also view with hope for the future of Zimbabwe the resistance by the U.S. Government to pressure by the Congress to lift sanctions and tacitly approve the illegality of the regime.

We look forward to the forthcoming all-parties constitutional conference, and we hope it will result in a solution acceptable to the people of Zimbabwe and peace in that country.

Mr Chairman: The hopes raised by the diplomatic efforts of the five Western powers in Namibia have been greatly disappointing despite the concessions made by SWAPO for a peaceful settlement. South Africa has sought strategies to obstruct the progress to UN-supervised elections and independence of Namibia.

We call on South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and to cooperate fully with the UN secretary general to carry out its mandate to facilitate an orderly decolonization process.

In concluding my brief remarks, I wish to say a few words on the refugee problems. With the intensification of the struggle for freedom and self-determination, this problem is assuming large proportions with very serious implications for the countries granting asylum to the refugees. It is a problem that is getting worse every day and which requires urgent attention at all international forums. The nonalined movement should view the refugees as part of the liberation process as a result of the denial of people's right to self-determination. Inasmuch as we pledge our solidarity with the liberation movements and our commitment on moral, material and practical support, the nonalined movement should accept its responsibility to aid the refugees and be responsible for their welfare. Refugees are our collective problem which arises from the centers of war, and there is no justification for not participating in providing asylum, education, welfare and even permanent settlements to these refugees. Neither can we reconcile indifference with consciousness.

Thank you, Mr Chairman. [applause]

YAR's Makki

JN071956 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 7 Sep 79 JN

[Excerpts] Dr Muhammad Hasan Makki, deputy prime minister and foreign minister and chairman of the YAR delegation to the nonalined summit conference currently convening in Havana, has delivered the YAR's speech to the conference.

Dr Makki stressed that world society understands that the Middle East conflict has resulted from the existence of an alien entity in the Arab region--an entity based on violence, terrorism and the evacuation of the native settlers, the Palestinian Arab people.

As a result of World War II and the imperialist conflict over zones of influence and foreign supremacy, imperialist forces coordinated efforts with international Zionism to create a base in the Arab region, in order to protect imperialist interests and achieve the Zionist ambition of occupying Arab Palestine by encouraging Zionist immigration to Palestine. He stressed that the Middle East crisis, with the Palestinian issue at its core, will remain an unsettling factor, threatening international peace and stability, if a comprehensive and equitable solution is not achieved by total Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands--including Jerusalem--and by enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate rights of returning to their homeland and establishing their independent state on Palestinian soil under the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. Dr Makki called on the nonalined states to expose the Zionists' racist and imperialist aims at all international meetings. He also called on them to punish Israel for its continued aggression, which is encouraged by U.S. military, political and economic aid.

He stated that the Egyptian-Israeli agreement gave Israel the chance to pursue this hostile policy. This matter dictates that the nonalined states adopt a positive stand to put an end to this traitorous and conspiratorial scheme. Such a stand would be harmonious with the nonalined movement's basic principles, which would consequently confirm the Palestinian people's and the Arab people's national interests.

On the African situation, Dr Makki said that Africa is witnessing a whirlpool of regional conflicts, instigated by an international conspiracy that aims at aborting the liberation movements and destroying the forces that struggle for independence from the racist states.

Regarding the Cypriot issue, the foreign minister stressed the YAR's support of the efforts of the United Nations and its secretary general, the General Assembly and the nonalined states' resolutions calling for the unity of Cyprus and for respect for its independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty within a unified sovereign state, which would perform its natural role as one of the founder-states of the nonalined movement and which would guarantee equitable rights for both communities of the Cypriot people.

He also stressed the YAR's support for efforts and initiatives to reunite Korea in accord with UN and nonalined principles.

He said the Red Sea is a sensitive strategic area that must be free of international conflicts and the super powers' competition. He added that the super powers' military presence is considered a direct threat to the independence of the region's states and a form of interference in their domestic affairs. Such a presence would impose a grave danger on the region's peace and stability. He stressed the YAR's rejection of any military presence and condemned the establishment of military bases in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. He said that the YAR considers such a presence a threat to its safety and security. Dr Makki emphasized the need to maintain the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean as a peace zone, in implementation of the UN General Assembly's resolutions.

He stressed that economic and social development in the nonalined states cannot be viewed in isolation from international economic developments and changes. He added that international economic relations reflect directly on the developing countries' progress and development. He called on the nonalined states and the developing countries to work for change within the framework of international economic relations, by making a basic amendment in international production in accord with a new international system.

Sao Tome's Da Costa

FL121327 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0217 GMT 6 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Manuel Pinto da Costa, president of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, at the 6 September evening session of the nonalined countries' sixth summit conference held at Havana's Palace of Conventions, speaking in Portuguese with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrade Chairman, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: First of all allow me on behalf of my delegation and in my own name to greet the delegations present here at this nonalined countries movement sixth summit conference of chiefs of state and government. At the same time, I would like to present to you, Comrade Chairman, my warm greetings and happy congratulations for your unanimous election to the chairmanship of this summit meeting of our movement. I can assure you that the delegation which I head will give its best in contributing to the success of this conference, whose work you have the historical responsibility of guiding. Confident in your exceptional qualities as a man, leader and revolutionary, my delegation calls on all delegations present here to carry out an effective and meaningful participation in fully completing the important tasks which we have set for ourselves, and contributing on this date to strengthening our organization. I also take this opportunity to express to you my most happy congratulations for your brilliant speech at the opening of this conference.

Comrade Chairman: The Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe feels prouder than ever to belong to the nonalined countries movement. This sixth summit has particular significance. In effect, it is the first time that the nonalined countries have met at the highest level on American soil. Not only that, we are not only in America but in Havana, capital of militant and revolutionary Cuba. It is very significant and encouraging that four countries of this region--Grenada, Bolivia, Suriname and heroic Nicaragua--are joining as full members of our organization. My delegation believes that our movement is expanded and at the same time strengthened by this summit and by the admission of these four members, which are countries whose people learned in an eloquent manner about domination, oppression and humiliation. Welcome to our midst Grenada, Bolivia, Suriname, Iran, Pakistan, Nicaragua and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front--with whome we will fraternally share in the just struggle and high proposals and objectives which inspire us.

Comrade Chairman: My delegation believes that we are living at a very important time of our movement. Despite the efforts and various maneuvers unleashed by the enemies of this organization, we are holding our sixth summit. I would say that, whoever it may hurt, the Havana summit is a reality whose results will be set down in the history of our movement.

Nonalinement never meant and can never mean a simple and comfortable position of neutrality as regards political-military blocs. Such an interpretation, besides being opportunist, would lead to paralysis of the organization or its transformation into one more instrument of imperialist forces for the domination and exploitation of our peoples. The nonalined countries movement was, is and always will be an important front of struggle for true self-determination and independence of peoples, and an effective instrument for the exploited peoples in their struggle for economic and social emancipation. The presence of national liberation movements among us as full members, such as the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the PLO, are evidence of the anticolonialist character of the movement. Their contribution to the struggle of our peoples to set up a new international economic order against the interventionist policy of the colonial powers and for the defense and safeguarding of peace, shows its anti-imperialist character.

The countries which today comprise the nonalined movement are not, from the ideological and political orientation point of view, a homogeneous whole. Nevertheless, this does not prevent us from struggling together to achieve common goals. In effect, the majority, if not all of the member countries, suffer from underdevelopment. They are countries which are economically exploited and dependent. All face, to a greater or lesser degree, identical problems, results of the same causes.

We know that all of our countries, that each one of them, have their own contradictions. Here among ourselves, in the heart of our movement, are also contradictions. But these contradictions are secondary and should not prevent us from struggling together, keeping in mind the infinity of common tasks waiting for us and, above all, being aware of the fact that the main barrier keeping us from solutions to our problems is imperialistic exploitation.

The diversity in political and economic orientation of the countries which make up the nonalined family can to a certain point be a limiting factor, without keeping them from acting together to find solutions to major problems of common interests. Those who evoke the ideological disparity of the nonalined countries movement members and conclude that the nonalined cannot carry out concerted actions against them; are trying to perpetuate their domination over the underdeveloped countries in general, and are trying nothing more than to prevent, at all costs, the movement from becoming a decisive factor in establishing a new type of relationship between exploited and exploiter countries. They are the ones who are trying to prevent our countries and peoples from having a more active participation in solving the problems which affect all of mankind.

Our unity and cohesion presupposes complicance with a certain number of regulations on conduct which rigorously respect the principles guiding the movement. We should be frank, open, less formal in our speeches and remarks, and study problems with the seriousness and courage required of us due to the magnitude of the cause which we all defend and to the high significance of the principles and objectives of our movement. We should be intransigent with members who infringe upon the basic principles of our movement, if we wish to safeguard its integrity.

Therefore, at the start I declared the support of my delegation for the frank and direct words of Comrade President Fidel Castro in his inaugural address which dealt with various problems, and condemned acts and behavior which are abhorrent to the movement and incompatible with the principles themselves. We believe this to be the way to proceed in contributing to strengthening the necessary unity and cohesion in the heart of the nonalined movement.

Comrade Chairman: Allow me now as a representative of an African people to express, on behalf of this people, our most vehement condemnation of the illegal and illegitimate occupation of Western Sahara, a territory where a people are prevented from exercising their right to self-determination. The Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe believes it intolerable and unjust for Morocco, a member of the nonalined movement, to have usurped the right of self-determination from a people. This is in flagrant contradiction to the principles of the movement. Our movement cannot be indifferent in face of an act of this type which is in flagrant contradiction to the basic principles which guide its action and justifies its existence.

Allow me also to declare once again our firm and unconditional support for the POLISARIO Front, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Saharan people. [applause] Our movement should reinforce its support for the struggle of the Saharan people. My delegation considers it just and worthy for this sixth summit to congratulate the Mauritanian Government for its gesture, which was honorable and correct.

Comrade Chairman: In Africa, we still find the disturbing situation in southern Africa where the fanaticism of the South African racists threatens to turn the region into a zone of intense and dangerous international conflict. We call for energetic measures to be taken to end the collusion between the imperialist and racist interests and a handful of people who have sold-out their homeland, where Salisbury and Pretoria feed on the blood and lives of the heroic combatants for liberty, the innocent and defenseless refugees and the unselfish workers from the front line countries. There is a need to end this indiscriminate aggression. The support of our movement for those countries should go beyond simple condemnation. The nonalined countries should support and call for the effective application of the sanctions approved by the United Nations and other international forums against South Africa and Rhodesia.

In being loyal to the basic principles which nurture our movement, we cannot remain indifferent to the struggles of the peoples of Puerto Rico and East Timor for their self-determination. All of our solidary support goes to them. Our solidarity should also go to the Panamanian people with regard to the rapid solution to the agreements signed on the Canal issue. Also, the Cuban people see their sovereignty threatened by the presence on their territory of a U.S. naval base, which is entirely against the will of that people. We believe that the naval base the United States maintains in Guantanamo is nothing more nor less than an arrogant gesture which deserves our condemnation and our most decided solidairty with the just vindication of Cuba. Let the U.S. economic blockade imposed on Cuba cease.

To conclude, Mr Chairman, it seems to me pertinent to state that the struggle of the nonalined and underdeveloped countries in general for a new international economic order should include a review of domestic structures in a large number of our own countries. It should be a review which creates new conditions allowing the benefits of this new international economic order to be placed at the service of the authentic interests of our peoples, and not to benefit indirectly the multinationals. Expecting to receive benefits from a new international economic order, without counting on domestic plans for a minimum of adequate and solid economic, political, social and educational, cultural and technical structures, is the same as building a great building on swampy ground and watching with consternation and impotence as it slowly but inexorably submerges in the mud, mire and sands of the swamp.

In conclusion, we would like to say that the struggle for a new international economic order should necessarily be accompanied by a signficant evolution of the domestic structures in our respective countries. The analysis made by the president of the Republic of Madagascar deals in a clear and cohesive manner with the economic problems which concern our respective countries, and advances solutions which we believe pertinent. For this reason, our delegation proposes that the Malagasy speech be adopted as a document of this conference. Thank you Comrade Chairman. [applause]

Ivory Coast's Ake

FL121813 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1802 GMT 7 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Simeon Ake, foreign minister of the Republic of Ivory Coast, at the 6 September evening session of the nonalined countries sixth summit conference at Havana's Palace of Conventions; in French with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr Chairman: chiefs of delegations: I join those who preceded me in congratulating you on your election as chairman of the sixth summit conference of nonalined countries chiefs of state and government and thanking the Cuban Government and people, and you personally, for the warm and cordial welcome and hospitality accorded to us since arriving in your beautiful capital.

You have been empowered with the high responsibility of leading our movement during the next 3 years. We are satisfied with your solemn pledge before this conference to lead our movement with caution, sensibility and moderation, and to see to it that our decisions are applied and implemented. Mr President: We assure you of our full cooperation during your mandate.

The movement, which today has nearly 100 members and includes almost all countries in the Third World, has pledged to struggle for a world of peace, freedom, justice and progress. In the effort to achieve these goals, it is important to eliminate the mistakes and antiquities surrounding them, strengthen their credibility and accentuate what unites us. The strength of the nonalined movement can be found in the solidarity and unity of action of its members. The unity and cohesion of the movement are in jeopardy. This disunity in its midst is due to conflicts of various kinds, due to the intolerance of some members with respect to others and due to the fact there is a tendency to assume the power of a court to dispense sentences and punishment when this forum should be the framework for harmony and fruitful work for a more efficent action for peace and cooperation among its members and the rest of the world.

Our movement is at the crossroads of two paths. The importance of the sixth summit need not be stressed. The important thing is to seriously ponder the foundation and principles of this great movement, to appreciate with objectivity and calm if the policy we advocate in our respective countries in dealing with the world are in agreement with these foundations and principles.

In order for the movement to achieve full neutrality, we believe that the following must be achieved: Peace in each of our states, peace between our states, and finally peace between our countries and the rest of the world. Only this neutrality will maintain us outside the blocs and protect us from the rivalries existing between the great superpowers. In doing this, we must work for peace in our states, a peace not imposed with violence, war, oppression, terror or summary actions but a peace reached through dialog and love. In order for peace to reign between our respective states, we must accept each other just as we are, not as we would like others to be. To respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, political and economic options of each of our states, not to interfere in any manner or form or for whatever reason in the domestic affairs of our respective states, to seek by all means possible and encourage a peaceful solution to all conflicts and differences opposing members of our movement and, finally, to develop cooperation between our states, a cooperation based on the solidarity required by the common condition of developing countries must be the rule to be observed by us. Peace among us and with the rest of the world is the third rule of this neutrality.

Mr Chairman: The behavior of some of us cause us to believe that they adopt the positions of one or the other bloc, that they are committed to one or the other, that they are alined with one or the other because they say it is our natural ally. Far from our thoughts is the idea of underestimating the important contributions of the socialist countries to the struggle of our movement against colonial domination and for the liberation of a large number of countries, particularly in Africa. They deserve our movement's gratitude for that contribution. When listening to some of the speakers, we get the impression they want the nonalined to move toward alinement with the socialist camp because it is anti-imperialist, as if imperialism had only one face.

Our movement should never allow itself to be used in this power play of the superpowers. Imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism or expansionism are the means used by the great superpowers and some developed countries stubbornly attempting to maintain us in a state of underdevelopment.

None of us will get anything free from the big countries. The capitalist countries most surely profit from trading with us, but those among us having preferential status with socialist countries, can they assert that they do not do the same thing? At what price do they buy raw materials? At the same price that the capitalists do. With respect to the happiness of our peoples, these countries follow the same policy. Each of us present here has endured the same sorry experience. That is why we must reinforce our cooperation and translate the solidarity uniting us into concrete actions. Those among us having the means to do so should help poorer states raise the standard of living of their populations. This is what we want to do in western Africa. We must establish a united front for the defense of our raw materials' prices.

If we accept division in our ranks, we will be playing into the hands of our exploiters who take from us with one hand whatever they give us with the other. Our real friends are those who can help us truly and efficiently out of underdevelopment without subjugating us ideologically. Each of us is free to choose his friends in the defense of his country's and people's interests, but we must be careful that this selection is not used against us. It is on this path that we will strengthen our movement's credibility, and consequently the opportunity to contribute to the solution of the problems and cases we are confronting.

Mr Chairman: This is our modest contribution to the sixth nonalined summit conference to which we wish total success for the sake of the movement's strengthening. Thank you very much.

SPEECHES AT 7 SEP NONALINED SUMMIT SESSIONS

Uganda's Binaisa

LD071346 Kampala Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 7 Sep 79 LD/EA

[Text] President Binaisa has deplored Morocco's annexation of Western Sahara and said Uganda recognizes the POLISARIO Front as the legitimate government of the people of the area. In a speech which was strongly critical of some leaders on the continent, Mr Binaisa told the sixth nonalined summit in Havana that Uganda is disgusted with what was happening in the Central Africa Empire. He also said Uganda is aghast at the behavior of some African and Arab countries which continue to trade with South Africa in complete disregard of the OAU resolutions and those of the nonalined movement calling upon all countries to stop trading with South Africa.

Turning to the so-called prime minister of Zimbabwe, Bishop Muzorewa, the president said Uganda considers him as a preacher turned game keeper who was pretending to have the backing of the African people. On the Middle East, President Binaisa urged for moderation in the region, stressing that condemnation of Egypt would not result in a solution to the problem. He said any peace efforts which did not involve the Palestinian people, through the PLO, have little chance of success. He saluted the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua over a month ago and the toppling of Nguema's dictatorship in Equatorial Guinea, both of which he likened to the April overthrow of dictator Amin. For 8 years, the president said, Amin had murdered, raped and humiliated Ugandans. Amin, he said, was an abominable fascist, a brute, a villain and a coward, who took the lives of his victims under the most outrageous conditions.

President Binaisa, who devoted a great part of his speech to economic issues, said Uganda will accept economic aid and foreign investment in specified fields of the economy provided the aid and investment did not jeopardize Uganda's independence.

Mr Binaisa, therefore, appealed to the OPEC countries belonging to the movement to take steps to alleviate hardships among non-oil-producing countries belonging to the Third World and called on all developing countries to draw up a new international development strategy recommended by the ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau held in Delhi and Havana.

Gabon's Prime Minister

PA071326 Paris AFP in English 0657 GMT 7 Sep 79 PA

[Text] Havana, Sep 7 (AFP)--Gabonese Prime Minister Leon Mbeiame yesterday became one of the new speakers at the non-aligned summit here to voice implicit support for Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's Mideast peace initiatives.

While stressing that the only way to solve the Mideast conflict was through dialogue with all parties involved, he said that efforts made over the past two years deserved to be encouraged.

Mr Mbeiame deplored the growth of splits within the non-aligned movement and warned against some factions declaring they were "more revolutionary, more anti-imperialist" than others.

Lesotho's Jonathan

LD081420 Maseru Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 7 Sep 79 LD/CA

[Text] The prime minister, the Right Honorable Dr Leabua Jonathan, says the present political situation in southern Africa is the direct result of the existence of apartheid, which is a philosophy that knows no territorial boundaries.

Addressing the sixth summit conference of heads of state and government of nonalined countries held in Havana this week, Dr Jonathan said S. Africa's aggression against Lesotho has increased, with acts of harassment, shooting and humiliation of the people of Lesotho going on unabated. Dr Jonathan was loudly applauded when he said although Lesotho does not possess the physical military might to confront South Africa, the Basotho people had the political and moral will to confront Pretoria and disprove its myth of racial superiority. He declared that Lesotho's concern over (?persistence) of the apartheid system heightened as the obduracy of the advocates of the system (?grows).

Speaking on the world energy crisis, Dr Jonathan said the oil problem has dealt a shattering blow to the infant economy of Lesotho and appealed to all producing members of the nonalined movement to assist Lesotho to offset this predicament. In this regard, Dr Jonathan addressed a special word of thanks to Algeria and Mozambique. He said President Machel of Mozambique had shown a great understanding of Lesotho's problems and as an African brother was always ready to assist during times of need in the struggle against apartheid and racism.

On transport and telecommunications, the prime minister said [words indistinct] international effort is significant in her effort to break the isolation imposed on her by geopolitical circumstances.

Speaking on Zimbabwe, Dr Jonathan said he totally rejects the notion of an independent Zimbabwe which has Ian Smith in control of a vital post in the administration. Lesotho, he said, welcomes the decision of the British Government, which is the colonial power in Zimbabwe, to call an all-party conference to resolve the constitutional deadlock in that country.

Seychelles' President

LD072038 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1805 GMT 7 Sep 79 LD

[Text] Havana--Defining at the very start of his speech the strategic goals of the nonalined movement as the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and Zionism, Seychelles President France Albert Rene stressed that over the next 3 years the movement would strengthen, grow ani justify its role "under the leadership and control of the chairman."

In his speech, Rene asked the questions and answered them himself. To the first: Who is hindering the processes of decolonization in the world--his answer was capitalism and imperialism. To the next questions in which he asked: Who was sending arms to the reactionary regimes, who was financing the mercenaries to undermine democratic government, who was threatening the developing countries' economies, ani who was supporting the racists and others--he gave the same reply: capitalism and imperialism. In connection with instability in the Middle East, in Western Sahara, Southeast Asia and other crisis areas, he accused capitalism ani imperialism. They are also to blame for the failure of the negotiations between the developed and unierdeveloped, according to Rene.

Consequently, he drew the conclusion that it was of primary importance for the nonalined movement to struggle resolutely against capitalism and imperialism, and that "if not all of us have the courage needed for this struggle, then let our ranks be split."

He assessed the Camp David agreements as Egyptian betrayal of the Arab cause, regretted the fact that the empty chair meant for the Kampuchean delegation was not being occupied by the representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and voiced support for the people of Western Sahara, who "will drive out the Moroccan colonial occupiers." He also voiced support for the liberation struggle of the Palestinians, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and southern Africa ani hailed the "revolutionary victories won in Iran, Nicaragua, Ugania, Kampuchea and Grenada." He concluded his speech by stressing that the Seychelles Republic was a free, nonalined and socialist-orientated country.

Bahraini Foreign Minister

JN072138 Manama GULF NEWS AGENCY in Arabic 2040 GMT 7 Sep 79 JN

[Text] Havana, 7 September--Bahraini Foreign Minister Shaykh Muhammad ibn Mubarak Al Khalifah has stated that the Palestinian cause is the crux of the Middle East issue ani that its settlement requires recognition of the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination ani repatriation.

In a speech he delivered at the sixth nonalined summit conference this morning, the Baharaini foreign minister said that the partial solutions contained in the Camp David agreements further complicate the issue. He called on the nonalined states to ask the UN Security Council to adopt measures against Israel, as stipulated in the UN Charter.

The Bahraini foreign minister explained that world events since the first nonalined summit conference, held in Belgrade 18 years ago, require increased efforts to achieve the nonalined movement's practical objectives and principles, to enable it to confront the challenges and obstacles it now faces.

The Bahraini foreign minister called for maintaining the role and influence of the nonalined movement. He said: This movement's continued success requires a full commitment to confronting the overt ani covert attempts to destroy and fragment the nonalined principles.

The Bahraini foreign minister pointed to the issue of noninterference in other countries' internal affairs. He said: We are deeply anxious about the many setbacks in this area. Interference in other countries' internal affairs varies from infiltration and sabotage to armed military intervention.

The Bahraini foreign minister stressed that the Palestine cause is the crux of the Middle East conflict and that a comprehensive solution of this issue cannot be achieved except through the agreement of all concerned parties, including the Palestinian people, as represented by the PLO. He stressed that the partial solutions contained in the Camp David agreements that were concluded among Egypt, Israel and the United States further complicate the issue and threaten the liquidation of the Palestine cause.

He expressed his support for the convention of an extraordinary UN General Assembly session, to look into the Palestine issue and to adopt the required measures to implement UN resolutions on Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian and Arab occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and on recognition of the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights.

Burmese Foreign Minister

BK080750 Rangoon Domestic Service in Burmese 0530 GMT 8 Sep 79 BK

[Text] U Myint Maung, leader of the Burmese delegation to the sixth nonalined summit conference in Havana, Cuba, and minister of foreign affairs, spoke at yesterday's session.

In his speech, U Myint Maung said: The Burmese delegation came to Havana in the hope that the principles which inspired the founding members of the nonalined movement could be preserved and given new life. The trends of discussions and actions that the delegation of Burma has seen so far in Havana, however, have deeply disappointed it.

The Burmese delegation has, therefore, been compelled to change the speech which it had intended to deliver and make instead a brief address and put forward a motion.

The principles of the movement are not recognizable anymore. They are not merely dim, they are dying. Differences of views and outlook are only to be expected, but deliberate deviations from the basic principles can only be fatal to the movement.

It is not enough for the nonalined movement to just exist in name. There are, among the delegations present at the conference, those who wish to uphold the principles and preserve their own and the movement's integrity. But obviously there are also those who do not, wishing instead to deliberately exploit the movement to achieve their own grand design. The delgation of Burma cannot allow itself to be so exploited.

The delegation of Burma, therefore, after careful consideration, places before the summit the motion that the member countries begin anew, dissolving the movement as it stands today torn and divided, that a committee of members be appointed to draft a charter defining with clarity the inviolable principles to which the movement shall be dedicated, the qualifications and code of conduct for membership and the consequences of its violation, the functions and powers of the principal organs of the movement, and the procedures.

When the draft charter is completed, the member countries should then consider and accept it, admit qualified members and start again, purified and renewed.

As a founding member of the movement, Burma feels that it has a duty to try and preserve its original purposes. Hence, the solemn, serious and sincere motion which Burma hopes the summit will urgently consider and put to a vote.

As the founding member, Burma does not, however, make any claim to be on the committee to draft the charter. The delegation of Burma would like to submit that should the summit reach no decision and let things drift, the delegation of Burma will withdraw from the conference and Burma will end its participation in the movement.

Cyprus' Kiprianou

NC072030 Nicosia Domestic Television Service in Greek 1830 GMT 1830 GMT 7 Sep 76 NC

[Telephone dispatch by Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation correspondent Dhimitris Andreou from Havana]

[Text] Prolonged applause drowned the end of the speech which the president of the Cyprus Republic, Mr Spiros Kiprianou, delivered to the plenary session of the sixth summit conference of the nonalined movement in Havana today. Heads of state and governments as well as delegates from over 90 countries and national liberation movements cheered Mr Kiprianou loudly for his speech ani the stand he took both on international problems in general and the Cyprus issue in particular. Many heads of state also rushed to personally congratulate President Kiprianou after he ended his speech. This attitude by the leaders of the nonalined countries cannot but be interpreted as a vigorous demonstration of the movement's support and solidarity for Cyprus' struggle for freedom and for the efforts of the Cyprus Government to find a just and viable solution to the Cyprus problem, a solution in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the nonalined movement, ani in accordance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

The UN resolutions, stressed President Kiprianou, provide all the elements for a just and permanent solution of the Cyprus issue; envisage strict respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, envisage the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, envisage the return of all refugees to their homes in conditions of safety.

The demonstrations of solidarity from the nonalined have really been moving. How many times from this very same rostrum has Cyprus defended its just rights ani sought and found the nonalined as a firm and consistent supporter? It is a fact that Cyprus, a small and defenseless country, as President Kiprianou emphasized, has the support of the nonalined as one of the basic weapons in its struggle at this moment. This support is manifested in many ways and constantly strengthenes its stature as a state: It helps Cyprus to regain its independence and to secure the withdrawal of foreign troops.

The support of the nonalined lies within the framework of the movement's principles that condemn every act of invasion, condemn interference with the sovereign rights of other countries, and condemn the occupation of foreign territories. Consequently, Cyprus expects that the nonalined will once again at this conference surround Cyprus and the Cypriot people with a new and just revolution that will essentially be one of the strongest weapons that we will have in the future to continue the struggle for freedom and justice.

The basic points of President Kiprianou's speech were:

--Reference to the Turkish invasion and its tragic consequences to the Cypriot people.

--Expression of gratitude for the solidarity of the nonalined movement. Here President Kiprianou stressed that we are in need of more solidarity and support because, he added, 5 years after the Turkish invasion nothing has changed. He wants the movement to support the same principles that it has supported in other similar cases. We need solidarity to regain our independence and achieve the implementation of the UN resolutions for the withdrawal of foreign troops.

The Cyprus issue is not a dispute between Greek and Turkish Cypriots nor is it a religious conflict. The happiness of all lies in the unity of the country and the people and not in division. We are struggling, he emphasized, for the well known interests of the Cypriot people as a whole. President Kiprianou repeated his proposal for the demilitarization of Cyprus and for disarmanent and asked for the support of the nonalined movement in the promotion of the implementation of this proposal at the United Nations.

--As regards the talks, President Kiprianou said: We are not against negotiations. We have negotiated for a long time but nothing has been achieved so far. He then referred to the 19 May agreement [between Kiprianou and Denktas] and said that it contains all the elements necessary for a settlement of the Cyprus issue. But Ankara and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, he added, have undermined the agreement and the talks only lasted a few days. The Turkish side sought and is seeking the partition of Cyprus. Since the adjournment of the talks, probes and consultations have been held in advance of future talks. But this has not been possible. The Turkish side sets conditions that for us are unacceptable. President Kiprianou stressed that even now we are ready for talks on the basis of the 19 May agreement.

Continuing, President Kiprianou said: I convey to you the anxiety of the Cypriot people regarding their future. Our survival as a state is threatened. We are asking for the support and solidarity of the nonalined movement in our struggle. What has happened to us may also happen to others. Prevent this by helping Cyprus regain its independence and freedom. President Kiprianou appealed to all that the nonalined movement should approach the Cyprus issue with exactly the same criteria as it approaches other problems at this sixth summit conference. Cyprus, he emphasized, is a weak country; do not forget Cyprus. Give us the strength we need to continue our struggle and I wish to assure you that we will continue our struggle, which is also a struggle of all the nonalined countries, until such time as we have achieved our objectives: True freedom, justice and democracy for all the people of Cyprus, regardless of race, creed or nationality. We will not retreat and we will not yield, we will continue our struggle and in this struggle we ask you to join us. Because in the case of Cyprus you are not joining any military blocs but the principles of the nonalined movement.

--President Kiprianou also referred to humanitarian problems. He mentioned the agreement for determining the fate of missing persons and the breaking of this agreement by the Turkish side. He appealed for support from the nonalined for the settlement of this humanitarian problem as well.

--The Middle East problem: President Kiprianou said that we support the full implementation of the UN resolutions on the Middle East problem and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories. He said that we fully support the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people for self-determination and the establishment of their own independent and sovereign state. We recognize, he said, the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people.

--Southeast Asia: President Kiprianou said that we are watching with concern the developments in this area. The solution of the problem, he said, must be based on the UN principles and those of the nonalined movement.

--Southwest region of Africa: President Kiprianou said that we condemn the so-called internal settlement in Zimbabwe Rhodesia. The people of Zimbabwe and the people of Namibia have the right to self-determination. We support a government of true black majority for both regions. We voice our solidarity for the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia as well as our solidarity for the people of the neighboring countries that support the struggle of national liberation movements.

--South Africa: Cyprus, said President Kiprianou, is against the policy of racial discrimination and of apartheid followed by the Government of South Africa.

--Other international problems: Cyprus supports the right of self-determination of the people of Western Sahara as well as of other areas under occupation struggling for national independence and freedom.

Zambia's Kaunda

FL131845 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 2153 GMT 7 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia, at the 7 September morning session of the nonalined countries sixth summit conference held at Havana's Palace of Conventions, speaking in English with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrade President, your majesties, dear brothers and sisters, colleagues and comrades: Before I share my country's views with you I would like to take this opportunity to bring to your attention an important event of great historical importance which took place in Lusaka exactly 5 years ago today. On that day, Comrade President, one of the longest exploiting colonial powers was overthrown at the hands of a determined political party whose leader had been assassinated and whose place had been taken over by an equally determined young man, a comrade in the common struggle. On this day an agreement was reached and signed in the Zambian capital and we in Zambia were honored by history to have witnessed that moment. The event I am referring to, Comrade President, is the defeat of Portuguese colonialism by FRELIMO led by Comrade Ed Mondlane and later on by Comrade Samora Machel. [applause] May I, with your permission, Comrade President, invite the Mozambican delegation to stand so that we can greet them? [prolonged applause] [directing himself to Machel] Come forward to the Presidium. [Machel goes up to the dias and is congratulated by Fidel Castro and other members sitting on the dais. Machel then goes to the podium where he is embraced by Kaunda. Machel is given a standing ovation]

Comrade President, colleagues, dear friends: When I was given the opportunity to move a vote of thanks I said, among other things, that the sixth nonalined summit was being held in an extraordinary country with an extraordinary people led by an extraordinary man. Indeed this is as it should be. All men and women the world over get the leaders they deserve. In the words of Comrade Castro himself, and I quote: leaders do not shape people, it is people that shape their leaders.

The Cuban people are indeed extraordinary for choosing him and for rallying and closing ranks firmly around him. Comrade Castro is indeed an extraordinary man who leads an extraordinary people. [applause]

Comrade Chairman: The political line of our party in Zambia is unique, guided by the philosophy of humanism which means we are against exploitation, international capital and its offshoots of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism and racism, including Zionism and apartheid on the one hand, and poverty and its offshoots of hunger, ignorance, disease, crime and the exploitating of man by man. Yes, exploitative international capital is at the base of all, all oppression, all the humilitation over the just but weak and defenseless peoples of the world.

This summit is not the time for settling accounts. This is the time for forgiving. But it is not the time of forgetting that without exploitative international capital my ancestors would not have been marked for the slave trade ships, to the plantations torture and then premature and often violent death.

Nor is this the time for forgetting that without the cheap and often free plundering of raw materials of the Third World, the anvils and furnaces of the West would have long been cold. The peoples of the Third World are poor today. They have always been poor.

But let the muse of history return to rewrite the dark chapter of our period of exploitation. If she is honest and truthful with herself, it will not be a chapter of a world which has nothing to offer. It will be a chapter of raped innocence and her men and wealth stolen to feed and support the industrial revolutions of the west. If this is the position, and indeed it is, do I hear the West say only what is ours is what is negotiable. Do I hear the West say that the new international economic order cannot come into being because they cannot afford to help develop the Third World at their expense? If indeed this is the case, and it is in judging of the slow, tortuous and snail-like pace of the negotiations for the new international economic order, then I must ask why the developed world has so quickly forgotten that without the massive capital inflows to their countries represented by our slave labor, cheap and often free raw materials they, too, would not have developed. The developed world owes each of us even today. They owe each of us every day of our political independence. While our inflation rates sometimes overshoot even double digits, theirs are on an average of 9 percent, that even despite high prices of oil. Their average unemployment rate is only 6 percent, while in our various cases the employment rate is hardly higher than their unemployment rate.

Comrade Chairman: We in Zambia are not against international capital. Indeed we want it, we want it. We need it to develop our people so that they can realize the full potential as God's people. But we do not want exploitative international capital, not that which comes to destroy and not to construct.

The same international capital which enslaved us and plundered our wealth is the same one which today enslaves the great people of Chile. It is the capital behind the ever exploding volcano of the Middle East leaving a trail of death and destruction in Lebanon. Yes, it leaves a trail of fear, hatred, division and death in Cyprus. It is the capital that propped up the regimes of Eric Gairy, Idi Amin, Batista, Nguema. And it is today the Capital which props up the savage regime of Bokassa of the so-called Central African Empire. Yes, it is the capital that props up the rebel regime in Salisbury, the minority racist regimes in Southern Africa, in Namibia and in South Africa itself. Yes, it is the capital that kept the oppressive regime of the deposed sham in Iran. It is the ultimate force behind the conflagration in Vietnam. It is capital which punishes the weak, such as Cuba, by a total trade boycott. It is the capital that imposes itself on the national naval or air bases of independent countries.

Comrade Chairman: We want and indeed appeal to the developed countries of the world, East and West, to understand that we need their capital to develop ourselves, and not the capital used to enslave us, to undermine our independence and prostitute our people which is a reincarnation of slavery. This is what happens every time that this capital is used to create areas of instability to aid the development of the economic interests of the strong. As long as this capital is used to foster the ambitions of the strong alone, the Third World shall continue to be an area of permanent friction and war.

Comrade Chairman: Our children do not want bullets, they want food. We do not want swords, we want plowshares. We cry for the weapons of progress. Alas, instead, we get Trojan horses ladened with weapons of death. The developed world pleads that it does not have the resources to help us develop ourselves. And yet, how swift and forthcoming they seem to create war conditions in our midst. We want peace, Comrade Chairman, because peace in our midst is more basic to the infrastructure for progress than even the inflow of strictly economic and therefore acceptable capital.

Mr Chairman: We welcome the agreements on SALT II between the people of the United States and the Soviet Union because it offers the prospect of peace for the embattled human race. But the developed countries must remember that we, too, of the Third World are part of that quest for peace.

Comrade Chairman: It is the aims and obligations, may the duty, of the developed world to aid the developing world. The fundamental basis of that obligation exclusively lies in the laws of morality. The primary basis of that obligation lies in the law of morality, but if this is not enough, the developed countries have self-interests in helping the developing countries. Self-interest is a crude biological instinct, but it is a fact of life and all of us would do well to attend their just instances.

Comrade Chairman, your majesties, colleagues and friends: We call on the developed world to rededicate itselves to a new vitality, to the task of initiating the new international economic order. We would remind them that the despair of the injustice of the present economic system was what caused the OPEC oil producers to take their destiny in their own hands. We wish to remind them at once this principle is established it can be repeated in other fields of raw materials supplies, while that despair continues growing by our efforts for a more just order. Doubtless, the raw material resources to be used for the good of all mankind still remain heavily in the Third World. It is no longer possible, Comrade Chairman, in a world of improved communications for poverty to live blissfully and ignorantly side by side with prosperity. Will the sons and daughters of poverty continue to accept their lot? I will ask it again, will the sons and daughters of poverty continue to accept their lot? The question is, does the Third World have any contribution to make to the vital process of development which safeguards peace? Yes is my answer. We of the Third World would do well not to sit and wait for the new international economic order as though that was the magic panacea for all our ills.

The developed countries of today did not take off in their sustained growth with the accompanyment of cymbals and drums of an Eastern or Western economic order. The secret is, among others, in the creation of favorable trade relationships. This lesson must be abundantly clear to all of us and they are that our salvation lies first and foremost in our own hands. As we speak out on trade liberalization between the developed and developing countries, we must propose this same liberalization among ourselves. We of the Third World must create the conditions to support and share technology based on the abundant natural resources which we possess and which the developed world is fast running out of.

This, Comrade Chairman, is not a doctrine of economic confrontation. It is not. It is a doctrine of mutuality of benefit between the poor of today and the rich. Since 1974 when the idea of the new international economic order was adopted, the developing countries' non-oil exports have shrunk. In real value while their imports have increased. Since 1974 trade between the developing countries has not increased substantially. It is quite clear that these adverse conditions do not provide acceptable development for any new order, however international it may be, to change materially our lot.

Mr Chairman: The developing countries possess through the enormous financial resources of their other Arab brothers and sisters an enormous opportunity for accelerated development.

We call upon our brothers, our Arab brothers to place confidence and trust in these countries by investing there. We understand and realize their concern for the security of their capital. And we support them in this, yes we support them in this. For what would be the wisdom of securing remunerative prices for their petroleum if only to turn their hard earned money into prodigality.

We say to them, that the faith which we ask you to express in us is the faith which we already have in you. And we are all committed to the development of our peoples and, above all, that you should give us the chance to show that we, too, can evolve biable projects worthy of your investments, and that we will welcome these investments because we know that from you can only come objective investments which safeguard peace through development. As the major source of development capital in the world today, we ask that you join forces with us in the cycle of development for peace.

Comrade Chairman and delegates: We in Zambia believe that nonalinement is not just another grouping of countries by geography or biology or by either limited or diverse considerations and interests. To us, nonalinement is linked directly to the overriding imperative of peace for mankind on this earth. It is born of the anxieties of man, the anxieties of human society and the anxieties of nation-states who want to be in peace and develop at their own rate and in their freely chosen direction.

Our organization of the nonalined world has served us very well. Without it many of us who have gained independence since its foundation would not have been here to claim their seats. Without it there would be no world conscience to call on the super powers to observe the limitations of the proliferation of strategic arms. Indeed, without this organization the urgent and important debate for a fairer economic system would never have come about. It is therefore that we owe this great organization a tremendous debt of gratitude.

We remind our colleagues that the nonalined movement has achieved so much, so much precisely because it has so far remained truly nonalined. It is our deep and sincere hope that it will continue to be so, as nonalinement is the fundamental cornerstone of our existence. We know it and I speak for all of us gathered here. Comrade Chairman: We in Zambia have been gratified and indeed encouraged by the unamity of views of this conference on the various issues that concern our world today.

In southern Africa the struggle and war continue in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Zambia remains solidly behind the liberation war and will continue to do so. There is no sacrifice too great to pay for total victory. [applause] Indeed, the Commonwealth conference was held recently in Lusaka on which an agreement was reached to hold a meeting this month in London. And it is important to note that the front line countries have made it abundantly clear that while this meeting takes place the liberation war will continue.

Comrade Chairman: I want to inform this summit that the racist white Rhodesian rebel army has begun a new wave of attacks against the front line states, of this you know. They entered into Mozambique on Wednesday and a fierce battle is raging at this very moment. We condemn it. We condemn it. This, yet another brutal attack on our peace-loving compatriots in Mozambique. I am informed that another attack on Zambia is imminent and that fighting should be taking place at this time. The fighting liberation forces of the Patriotic Front and the armed resistance movement of the front line states turn to the progressive forces at this summit in search of solidarity and material support.

Comrade Chairman: I want this summit also to take special note of the increasing role that the Kingdoms of Swaziland and Lesotho are playing and the increasing brutality they suffer at the hands of the reactionary and racist forces of South Africa. Those states are completely surrounded by the hateful apartheid regime. Indeed, they need encouragement from the nonalined movement and its summit.

Comrade Chairman: I started with Cuba, I want to end with Cuba--Cuba, the country which has especially succeeded in 20 short years in eliminating poverty, wiping out hunger and disease which still afflicts many of our developing countries today. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, crime in Cuba is minimal.

We must all admit their heroic victories have been won due to the spirit of self-reliance and total and unparalleled commitment to man throughout the world. And we cannot forget the spirit of sacrifice for this cause of man here in their own country or abroad. Cuba today leads the fight against the exploitation of man by man through its total commitment to revolutionary development. Cuba has not only sent her brave sons and daughters to join in the fighting wars of liberation in various parts of the world, but she has also sent fighters against ignorance and disease. For example, she has already sent or is in the process of sending over 100 doctors and 1,000 teachers to Nicaragua. [applause] We are grateful to Cuba for all of this and more. We must in all sincerity agree that they are an extraordinary people led by an extraordinary man, [speaking in Spanish] Comrade Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz.

[Continuing in English] How much more Cuba would have achieved if she had not continued to be subjected to a total economic blockade by the United States. We have demanded before and we do so now that the United States lift the blockade unconditionally as it does not serve the interests of mankind nor those of commerce. In addition to this blockade, the United States occupies Cuban territory. The United States must leave Guantanamo. And this conference of nonalined countries must categorically condemn this violation of the sovereignty of the Cuban people. I should add here, Comrade Fidel, that if there is any U.S. President to initiate action to end the violation of Cuban independence, it is Jimmy Carter. We call on him to start now.

Comrade Fidel, I told you on Monday that in Zambia we love, admire and respect you for your extraordinary revolutionary zeal. May the torch of the Cuban revolutionaries continue shining under Comrade Castro and the Communist Party of Cuba.

Long live the world revolution! Long live the struggle for liberation all over! Long live nonalinement! [speaking in Spanish] Down with capitalism! Down with imperialism Down with colonialism! Down with neocolonialism Down with fascism! Down with racism! Down with Zionism! [speaking in Portuguese] The struggle continues. [speaking in English] Thank you. [applause]

Singapore's Rajaratnam

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["Excerpts" from the prepared text of the speech by Singapore Foreign Minister S. Rajaratnam at the sixth conference of heads of state/government of nonalined countries at Havana on 7 September 1979]

[Text] I wish, on behalf of the delegation of Singapore, to extend our warm appreciation to the government and people of Cuba for their gracious and generous hospitality.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. From the little that we have been able to see of Cuba, it would appear that the lot of the common man has improved in the last 20 years.

We wish the people and the Government of Cuba continued success, peace and prosperity in the future.

Mr President, the last 3 years have been turbulent years. Many significant changes have taken place in the world situation.

The task of leading our movement has, therefore, not been an easy one. We would, therefore, like to pay a warm tribute to our outgoing chairman from Sri Lanka and to its distinguished president, his excellency, Mr J. R. Jayewardene.

In his address to us, on the 3rd of September, President Jayewardene reminded us of the five principles which guided Sri Lanka in carrying out its role as chairman of our movement. Two of these principles bear repeating:

First, Sri Lanka played the role of an arbiter, "playing the part of a referee who intervenes only when an infraction of the rules of the game threatens to destroy the game itself."

Second, Sri Lanka always sought to widen the areas of agreement through informal consultations rather than to encourage acrimonious and emotional public outbursts.

The result was that our movement has emerged through three challenging years intact and strong.

Our new chairman, as well as other future chairmen, will, I am hopeful, be guided by the same principles.

Mr President, our membership has increased from 87 to 94. We extend a warm welcome to Bolivia, Grenada, Iran, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Suriname and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe.

We also welcome the four new observers: Costa Rica, Dominica, the Philippines and Saint Lucia.

Mr President, we are happy to see so many of the distinguished leaders of our movement at this summit.

The three founding fathers of our movement were Nehru of India, Nassir of Egypt and Tito of Yugoslavia.

Marshal Tito, as a founding father of our movement, is a living repository of the history, the objectives and goals, the principles and true spirit of our movement.

As one of the creators of the principles of nonalignment, he knows better than the rest of us what they mean and how they should be applied in a changing world.

With respect to the recent armed conflict in Southeast Asia, Marshal Tito said: "We must not reconcile ourselves to the imposition of foreign will on peoples by military intervention.

"Such behaviour is totally incompatible with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the policy of nonalignment; we see a way out of the crisis in the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of other countries, and in respect for the independence, security and peaceful development of all countries in that region."

Mr President, our movement has always operated on the basis of unity in diversity. As President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said, on the 3rd of September, some of us are leftists, some are rightists and some are centrists.

Some of us have close relations with the Soviet Union, such as Cuba. Others are more friendly with other great powers.

But whatever our individual associations, the nonaligned movement as such is equidistant from all great powers.

We are all anti-imperialist, anticolonialist, antiracist and antifascist.

Mr President, there is another fundamental principle which unites us. It is to retain nonalignment as an independent nonbloc factor in international relations and to stand aside from the competition for influence among the great powers.

President Zia of Bangladesh exhorted us, on the 3rd of September, not to deviate from this and other fundamental principles. He also said that we must not yield to pressure from one bloc or the other.

Speaking on the same day, President Kaunda of Zambia said that some of his colleagues from Africa have not quite understood the development of conflicts between brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia.

I come from that region. My country is friendly to all the countries of the region. We are aligned with none of the great powers. Our only desire is for peace to return to Southeast Asia and for all countries to practise the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Mr President, in your inaugural address to your conference, you said:

"We have many close friends at this conference, but we don't always agree with the best of them. We hope that everyone will speak out with the greatest freedom and honesty and feel that he is being heard with interest, respect and consideration. The combined experiences of all of us gathered here can produce tremendous results.

Allow me, dear colleagues, to give you my honest and frank analysis of recent events in my part of the world.

I refer to the case of Democratic Kampuchea. Let me state at the outset that I hold no brief for the domestic policies of the Pol Pot regime which unfortunately happens to be, at the moment, the recognised government of Democratic Kampuchea.

As far as I know, it is not one of the requirements of membership in the nonaligned movement that fellow members should be enthusiastic about the domestic politics of member countries.

If this were to be the criteria, then the membership in the nonaligned movement would, in no time, become depressingly minute.

It has been a cardinal principle of our movement that the criteria for membership is commitment to nonalignment. A country's domestic politics is its own business.

We have before us a request for the expulsion of Democratic Kampuchea. The manner in which this case has been framed and the fact that it should have been brought to summit level are matters which should give us great concern about the future of the movement.

It suggests strongly that those who are making this demand for expulsion have other objectives in mind than strengthening the cause of nonalignment.

What is the case for the expulsion of Democratic Kampuchea based on? Has its government allied itself politically and militarily with a great power bloc to further the cause of great power rivalry and conflicts?

Has the regime in Democratic Kampuchea launched a war of aggression against a member country and installed a local regime which demands the continued presence of foreign troops?

These are not the grounds on which expulsion is being sought. The case for expulsion is founded on very novel and, in my view, disturbingly bizarre arguments, and all of which are a total negation of established nonaligned principles.

The first among these reasons is that the Pol Pot regime is barbarous; that it is oppressive; that it is undemocratic.

I for one will not disagree with such an assessment. My government has always had strong reservations about the nature of the Pol Pot regime.

I cannot say the same about some of those who now demand the expulsion of Democratic Kampuchea. They were until quite recently its strongest allies and its most fervent apologists.

The sense of outrage they now express came only after armed aggressions against Kampuchea by a fellow member of this organisation and one, moreover, allied militarily and politically with a power bloc.

This new assessment of the nature of the Kampuchean regime sounds more like arguments to justify an aggression.

In any case, if this conference accepts the argument that a member could be expelled because some of us do not approve of its domestic policies, then we would be establishing a new precedent which would make us all vulnerable.

For the first time, the nonaligned movement would be given a mandate to not only interfere in the internal affairs of a member country but also to intervene militarily should that country insist in managing its own affairs in ways which some of us may disapprove of.

Another argument used to justify Democratic Kampuchea's expulsion is so starkly frivolous as to border on insult to the nonaligned cause.

We are asked to expel Democratic Kampuchea because an invading foreign army is now in full control of the country and will soon eliminate such resistance as still continues.

We are told the invading army is in occupation of key towns and that some 15 or so predictably understanding governments had recognised the Heng Samrin regime and that it would only be a matter of time before the occupation forces achieve total victory.

In other words, this conference is being asked to expel Democratic Kampuchea on the grounds that armed intervention by foreign forces has been successful.

So, if we accede to this request to expel Democratic Kampuchea, our movement, having reached its 18th year, would be promulgating yet another new principle of nonalignment and it is a mind-boggling proposition.

This new principle can be applied against any of us. It is an invitation for member countries to launch wars of liberation against one another, if necessary with weapons of war received on a barter basis from a great power. This is what the Kampuchean case is all about.

If a foreign army invades another country and occupies it, then whether the nonaligned movement approves or disapproves of such an action will depend on whether the aggression has been successful.

If the aggression has been successful, then it would be the bounden duty of this organisation to call into question the membership credentials not of the aggressor but of the victim of foreign aggression.

Hitherto, our movement, whenever faced with the fact of outside aggression against a member country, has invariably given the benefit of the doubt to the victim of an aggression rather than to the aggressor.

Democratic Kampuchea is the first instance when this time honoured practice has been reversed.

We are today confronted with the astonishing situation of not the aggressor but its victim being put in the dock; of it having to show cause why it should not be ignominiously expelled because the aggressor is in successful occupation of that country.

As far as I know, the membership credentials of the aggressor have never been questioned at any point. In fact, its views on the dubiousness of Democratic Kampuchea's credentials have been listened to not only with great respect but even with accommodating reverence.

But Democratic Kampuchea's credentials were questioned almost from the time foreign troops marched onto its soil.

At the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in Colombo early this year, foreign ministers travelled thousands of miles to seriously debate whether the victim of an aggression should be allowed to participate in its proceedings.

The fact that Democratic Kampuchea was still a member of the United Nations and that it had successfully resisted attempts to unseat it was dismissed as inconsequential, presumably because that organisation held fast to the old fashioned idea that victims of aggression should have prior sympathy.

But at Colombo it was felt that the victim of aggression should be presumed to be guilty though I am not clear to this day as to the grounds of suspicion.

As I observed earlier, Democratic Kampuchea had not in any way breached any of the basic principles of our movement.

It was then and still is resisting aggression without the backing of foreign troops or massive flow of weapons from a sympathetic great power. Neither is it a member of a power bloc.

Perhaps that was its crime--of conducting a resistance without recourse to obliging foreign troops; of adhering to the basic principles of nonalignment.

In any case, the bureau was prevailed upon by the new wave movement within the nonaligned organisation to work out a compromise.

It was that the representative of Democratic Kampuchea should, pending a decision at the summit, be allowed to take his seat, provided, as at Maputo earlier, he did not speak.

So the nonaligned movement has now reached a level of development where it could have speaking and nonspeaking members.

The aggressor was not subjected to any such disability. He was allowed to enjoy all rights of membership including the right to demand the expulsion of his victim.

In other words, as matters now stand within our organisation, security of membership is likely to be better assured if one has the foresight to be an aggressor instead of being the aggressed.

If you are an aggressor your rights of membership would not be questioned and if you are a successful aggressor you can even speak without hindrance.

The Coordinating Bureau could not resolve the problem of Democratic Kampuchea simply because of its inability, for some reason or other, to decide on the issue on the basis of the established principles of the nonaligned movement.

It is because of attempts to deflect the movement from these crucial principles that we find ourselves in this ridiculous predicament.

When a movement has to put the victim of an aggression in the dock, while bending over backward to please the aggressor; when the victim is the party asked to show cause why he should not be expelled; when he is told that he should not speak because as victim the presumption is that he is guilty, then something is fundamentally wrong with a movement which over the past 18 years has served us well. The nonaligned movement has grown in strength and prestige over the years because, being made up of comparatively weak nations, it based its strength on the accepted principles of morality and justice.

The policy of nonalignment, as political doctrine, was based on noninvolvement in the immoralities of great power politics and rivalries.

It is my contention that the Kampuchea issue is something more than a military squabble between two member states.

It may be presented as such, but if you consider it against the background of the second cold war which has emerged out of the ashes of the first, the Kampuchean issue can be seen as the start of an attempt, as in the first cold war, to align the nonaligned countries in great power conflicts.

If the Kampuchea issue has, as I outlined it, manifested some odd features, they were the consequences of trying to conceal from us the fact that we are being manoeuvered into alignment in the new cold war.

There is an attempt now to persuade us that only by aligning itself with this or that great power can our movement reach new heights of nonalignment.

If we accept this incredible proposition, then let us resign ourselves to becoming mercenaries for the lucky power which has captured us.

The nonaligned movement is the product of two major international issues the world faced at the conclusion of the Second World War--anti-imperialism and the ideological cold war between the communist bloc, led by the Soviet Union, and the capitalist bloc, led by the United States.

The preoccupation of the nonaligned countries was with imperialism; that of the two superpowers, with global dominance.

Since the empires were largely those of the Western powers, it was inevitable that the nonaligned movement should have been anti-Western politically.

The communist bloc supported our anti-imperialism simply because it saw in our struggle a means of weakening its Western rivals.

However, it is worthwhile reminding ourselves that initially both the Soviet and Western blocs denounced nonalignment as an immoral doctrine.

They contended that there could be no neutrals in the holy crusade the superpowers had launched.

Every form of economic, political and even military pressure was exerted on newly independent nations to draw them away from nonalignment to alignment with one or the other of the great powers.

It is one of the great achievements of the nonaligned movement that it averted such alignment on the part of newly emerging nations.

It is no accident that the detente process between the great powers gathered impetus after the launching of the nonaligned movement in 1961.

Without the buffer of proxy wars through small nations, the alternative left to nuclear powers was either detente or pursuit of conflicts to the point of nuclear confrontation.

This being so, they preferred detente but they did not, therefore, abandon efforts to recruit proxies to further their conflicts.

Today, the nonaligned countries face a radically altered international environment which provides fresh opportunities for proxy wars.

First, the anti-imperialist struggles against Western empires have been more or less completed. There are residues of it in South Africa and in Palestine, and it is right and proper that our movement, as in the past, should assist the peoples of South Africa and of Palestine to regain their lost liberties and rights.

But the ending of colonialism has created new stresses and strains within the nonaligned movement. There is no longer the binding force of anti-imperialism to give us the cohesion and fraternal solidarity which were marked features of the movement in its early years.

Dissension and conflicts, some of them involving the use of arms, have tended to grow between members.

Some of us have even picked up the bad habits of our former masters. We dream of empires of our own and solicit the aid of great powers to realise these dreams.

We can encourage these dreams of empire and growing dissensions by allying with one contending faction or the other. If we do, then this movement will soon fall into disarray.

Or we can use this organisation and devise a mechanism for reconciling conflicts and strongly discouraging Third World imperialisms.

This is what we should do to safeguard the nonaligned movement.

The more there are conflicts among nonaligned members, the greater the danger of small nations being drawn into the second cold war, which is only just beginning.

The first cold war was ostensibly between the communist bloc and the Western bloc. I say "ostensibly" because ideology was merely a cover for one or the other of the great powers to maximise national power; to assert its supremacy over its rivals.

That this is so is demonstrated by the intensification of Sino-Soviet rivalry. Common ideology has not been able to overcome the need for one communist power to lord it over another communist power.

The war in Indochina and the Kampuchea issue should, therefore, be seen in the context of the rivalry between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union.

It has very little to do with the nature of the Pol Pot regime or with that of the Heng Samrin regime. The war in Indochina is basically a great power proxy war.

Where it is different from proxy wars of earlier times is that all the parties involved profess the communist faith--Vietnam, Kampuchea, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

The Kampuchean question which is now before this conference is an attempt to align this movement in this second cold war.

This should explain why the expulsion of Kampuchea is being sought, not on grounds of it having breached the principles of nonalignment, but on grounds that a Soviet-backed aggressor has successfully taken over from a Beijing-backed regime.

The Kampuchean issue is, therefore, an invitation to partisanship. The new cold war is today being fought in Southeast Asia, but will be extended to other regions and other continents before it works itself out.

What we are witnessing in Southeast Asia is the beginning and not the end of the second cold war. I do not know how long this will last or in what way the noncommunist powers would exploit this bitter contest between communist powers to regain what they lost in the first cold war.

But what I know is that if nonaligned members are confused into becoming proxies and partisans, whoever emerges the final victor, it will not be the proxies.

As evidence, I can only refer to what is happening in Indochina at this very moment. For 30 years, the people of Vietnam fought a brave and determined struggle--first against the French and then against the Americans.

It was a cruel war, accompanied by vast destruction of lives and property. If anyone deserves peace, it is the peoples of Indochina and particularly of Vietnam.

The first cold war ended in Vietnam with the military withdrawal of the United States.

Yet, within four years of the ending of the first cold war, Vietnam and Kampuchea, victims of the first cold war, have once again become the victims of the second cold war. The killings have begun after a 4-year respite.

In a way, the second Indochina war is turning out to be more savage and more tragic than the first. This is testified to by the flight of desperate peoples from lands in which they have lived for generations.

The present flow of refugees far exceeds any witnessed in the first Indochina war, when movements of peoples were largely internal and those who sought asylum outside, minimal and manageable.

Today, the seas around Southeast Asia are littered with frail boats packed with men, women and children who now find conditions so intolerable that they are prepared to take a 50/50 chance of survival in open seas.

Add to these the even more tragic spectacle of a fraticidal war, with allegations on both sides that it is assuming genocidal proportions.

There are also gloomy predictions of mass famines, possibly claiming millions, before the end of this year. And this only after 9 months of fighting.

And the character of the second Indochina war suggests possibilities of this being more protracted than the first.

All the countries involved in the proxy war in Indochina--the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam and Kampuchea--share common frontiers.

Unlike the French and the Americans, in the first Indochina war, the combatants cannot, when they reach the limits of endurance, withdraw and call it a day. For the new combatants, the choice is victory or defeat.

The tragedy is that for the proxies it will be defeat and destruction whichever of their patrons finally wins or betrays them.

The distinctive feature of a proxy war involving great powers is that proxies cannot terminate it without the consent of their patrons, sustain it without the aid and sophisticated arms they provide, or direct it towards ends that conflict with those of their benefactors.

Once a small nation departs from nonalignment in an era of great power rivalries, its inevitable fate is to become a proxy for a great power.

And once it has become a proxy, it must provide cannon fodder for great power conflicts.

This logic is implicit in the new international realities that have emerged. Nuclear powers know that direct conflicts among them spell mutual annihilation. At the same time, they are unwilling or unable to terminate their rivalries and urge for dominance.

So proxy wars best answer their needs because they avert mutual annihilation. Proxy wars ensure that destruction and loss of lives are largely confined to the lands of the proxies.

Hence, the search for new and more proxies has to be pursued more vigorously by the great powers in the coming years.

And the nonaligned movement, with 96 members, is clearly a rich recruiting ground. If the nonaligned movement, as a whole, could be aligned to this or that great power what a victory that would be for the lucky power--and what a tragedy for all of us in the nonaligned movement.

In one fell swoop, we become proxies for other proxy wars of which the one now being fought in Indochina is the forerunner.

If this conference decides to expel the victim of an aggression and of a proxy war, then it is only a matter of time before this movement as a whole is made proxy for a great power.

The best way to transform a nonaligned movement into an aligned instrument of a great power is to gradually purge it of those who hold steadfastly to nonalignment while the less steadfast who remain can be persuaded to go along to wherever their patron wants them to go.

If we decide that Democratic Kampuchea should be expelled because it has not infringed the principles of nonalignment, then so can any of us who refuse to act as proxies and adhere to nonalignment.

Libya's At-Turayki

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[Text] Havana, September 7, Jamahiriyah News Agency--'Ali 'Abdal-Salam at-Turayki, the Jamahiriyah's foreign secretary, affirmed his country's commitment to the nonaligned movement's principles and said it will work towards consolidating these aims and principles.

In his speech during the evening session he conveyed to the conference the greetings of the Libyan Arab people and of Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Great First of September Revolution, which affirm that the Jamahiriyah will struggle for the freedom of mankind.

He added that the nonaligned summit coincided with the 10th anniversary of the great First of September Revolution which toppled the monarchy regime in Libya, expelled foreign bases from her territories, abolished imperialist monopolies and led the struggle of the regional countries against the American oil monopolies for the interest of the peoples.

"The Great First of September Revolution is international, its aims and principles which shifted the balance of power for the benefit of the revolution in the region as a whole and also led a bitter struggle side by side with the evolutionary forces, nationally and internationally against imperialism, Zionism and racism," the foreign secretary said.

"We meet here today after becoming stronger, for new countries being liberated from reactionaries, colonialism and imperialist alliances, have joined this movement," he added.

"The non-aligned movement achieved many victories since the previous conference in Colombo and became the strongest force. But at the same time, it faced and still faces a vicious imperialist attempt to split it by putting some of us under its influence and alliances. We should admit that imperialism succeeded in doing so. Unfortunately Egypt which was the founder of the movement, under the leadership of the late Gamal 'Abd an-Nasir is out of it and violated its resolutions, principles and charter and made an unnatural alliance with imperialism and Zionism against the people of Egypt, the Arab nation, the non-aligned movement and the world progressive forces," he said.

The foreign secretary added that the imperialist countries are staging a vicious attack against Africa and are attempting to hit at the continent alliances. At the same time imperialism is trying to re-enter through the back door after being forcefully kicked out by using the ugliest kind of weapons and conspiracies and hired mercenaries to assassinate the progressive African leaders.

"Africa whose states form more than one half of the non-aligned movement has become today a theatre for all kinds of imperialist, racist intervention in support of the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and southern Africa. As part of this campaign it leads attacks on the people and states of southern Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana."

The foreign secretary stressed that: "the escalation of the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa in Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front and in Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO and in South Africa the imperialist colonialist forces which has attempted to delay this military struggle by diverting the struggle of these peoples into the by-ways of the regional and the collaborationist regimes.

"The Great First of September Revolution, as a pioneer revolutionary force, sees that armed struggle is the only way to liberate Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The Jamahiriyah supported and will continue supporting materially, these peoples until they get their freedom and sovereignty, because their struggle is our struggle and their freedom is our freedom. The leader of the Great First of September Revolution said to the Coordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, during a meeting held in Benghazi in 1972, that our independence is not completed as long as there is a part of Africa occupied by the racist regimes.

"Africa achieved great victories, but some parts of it are still under colonial domination. The people of the Western Sahara should gain their freedom and have the choice to unite with any country," he said.

He added: "The Jamahiriyah delegation praises the courageous decision of Mauritania to withdraw from the Sahara and recognize the Polisario Front and the right of the Saharan people for self-determination."

"Freedom, revolution and struggle are indivisible. What happens in Africa cannot be separated from what occurs in the Arab arena and Palestine in particular," he added.

To the Arab homeland he said that over the recent years--to be precise since 1973, dangerous developments occurred which are not new but constitute a continuation of long years. Starting with the colonialist attack against Arab homeland, the creation of the racist regime in Palestine [word indistinct] the Zionist-imperialist backed attempts of expansion in 1956, 1967 and 1973.

[Words indistinct] he added, are represented by an unnatural alliance between the puppet Egyptian regime and Zionist [words indistinct] of U.S. imperialism.

He went on to say that the [word indistinct] Egyptian regime's move was first and foremost a (?treachery) towards the Egyptian people and its impressive struggle, a treachery against the 23rd July Revolution and its historic leadership which is linked to late Gamal 'Abd an-Nasir [words indistinct] of the promoters of it.

Dr at-Turayki explained that the Fatah Revolution and its leadership realized this development ever since 1973 and since the meeting of Kilometre 101 between the Zionist enemy and the Egyptian puppet regime and warned the Arab nation against the outcome and the danger of the policy of the puppet Egyptian regime.

He mentioned the defeat Sadat's visit to occupied Jerusalem and his recognition of the sovereignty of the Zionist regime. Referring to the signature of the treaty of capitulation he said that it means first the sell out of the Palestinian cause and the abandonment to the enemy and secondly: "An unnatural alliance between the puppet Egyptian regime and the racist Zionist regime and U.S. imperialism, which is directed against the Arab nation and the Palestinian people." Thirdly, he said, it means an unnatural and unholy alliance between the regimes against the peoples of Africa and its progressive forces.

The defeated as-Sadat himself confirmed in Paris that he was given a role in Africa. Fourth: It means to pull out Egypt and its armed forces from the national battle and to contain all of Egypt and to use it as the spearhead of imperialism and colonialism. The foreign secretary added: "Yesterday you have asked about the aim behind the Egyptian regime by American imperialism, especially following the capitulation treaty signed by the Egyptian regime and its abandonment to the national battle. This only means that the reactionary regime became the servant of imperialism and together with its alliance the Zionism is threatening people of the region."

At-Turayki said: "Following the signature of the alliance treaty among Zionist enemy, American imperialism and the Egyptian regime, the Jamahiriyah is now on the confrontation line and therefore it realizes more than others the nature of such unholy alliances."

He pointed out that the Egyptian regime has put hundreds of thousands of soldiers on its borders with the Jamahiriyah and a complete military coordination was going on between the Egyptian regime and the Zionist enemy to attack the Jamahiriyah.

At-Turayki said that the defense minister of the Zionist enemy together with his chief-of-staff have inspected Egyptian forces stationed on the Jamahiriyah's borders with Egypt.

In 1977 the Jamahiriyah was attacked by the Egyptian regime supported by imperialism and the same regime was still concentrating its forces with the help of the Zionist enemy and imperialism to attack the Jamahiriyah. At-Turayki added: "This was the reason behind arming the Egyptian regime by American imperialism. This regime puts itself in the service of Zionism and imperialism, concentrating its forces on the Jamahiriyah's borders' sent its forces to threaten the Ethiopian revolution, Angolan revolution and Democratic Yemen, not only this but this regime made of itself imperialist agent and played the role of policeman in the Arab region and Africa."

At-Turayki indicated that what was called the Middle East problem, was only colonialism aiming at settlements and it had Zionist and racist nature and the solution of such a problem could be only achieved by destroying such racist regime which aligned itself with international imperialism.

The foreign secretary said: "The only solution for the Palestinian cause is the complete liberation of Palestine from this regime and to establish a Palestinian democratic state where Arab Muslims and Christians could live together with Palestinian Jews. What is called (Israel) is only an imperialist base for (?aggression) and it is an American imperialist base. Any solution which does not take into consideration such facts it has no hope in success.

The foreign secretary said: "It is the right of Palestinians as well as the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, to struggle until the complete liberation of the Palestinian people is achieved under the leadership of the PLO, their sole representative. He also explained that the agent Egyptian regime which has entered in an unholy alliance with the enemy will be mistaken to suppose that his collaboration with imperialism and his Zionist allies will liquidate the revolution of the Palestinian people.

The solution for this problem is not 99 percent in the hands of the USA, but it lies in the hands of the Arab nation and in the hands of the Palestinian people and in the hands of the peaceloving forces. He stated that the racist-Zionist regime is an illegitimate creation and an ally of imperialism. The Egyptian regime's alliance with the enemy and its signing the treaty of capitulation caused Egypt to lose its independence and placed it under the domination of the U.S. and the Zionists.

He said: "The defeated Egyptian president sold out and abandoned Egypt's pride, Egypt's sovereignty and sold out the Palestinian people without getting any solution. The Suez Canal nationalized by An-Nasir for the Egyptian people and for Africa's sake. The blood of Egyptian martyrs was spilt along this canal which now will receive the enemy's war ships. Thus, defying the pride of the Egyptian people to strike at Lebanon and Palestine and carry war material and equipments to South Africa so as to repress our friends in Zimbabwe and Namibia."

The foreign secretary called upon the conference to expel the Egyptian regime from this group for signing the "stable David" agreement and the capitulatory treaty. He said the support of the Palestinian people, the struggle of the Arab nation and confrontation countries: Syria and Jordan is a duty which is necessitated by the new stand resulting from the Zionist imperialist-Egyptian alliance.

Dr at-Turayki pointed out: "the signing of the 'stable David' agreements and the capitulatory treaty automatically dismissed Egypt from the group because it had violated the group's resolutions and principles, therefore Egypt has no place anymore here and its presence with us is shameful.

Dr at-Turayki called for the (?freezing) of Egypt's membership in the group. He said this is not in any way an action against the Egyptian people, their struggle and historic role, but an action necessitated by our principles and resolutions. It is for the interest of the Egyptian people and for the interest of our joint struggle.

The foreign secretary explained that the alliance of the Egyptian regime with the imperialism, Zionism and racism in southern Africa which is supplied by oil from imperialism and Zionism this alliance is weakening our movement. Allowing the Egyptian regime among us means that we recognize the racist Zionist regime and American imperialism this will be the beginning of the end for this group and for its role.

The foreign secretary pointed out: if we are keen to build the strength of this group we should shoulder its responsibility, courageously and reach a unanimous decision to freeze the membership of the Egyptian regime in this group, the presence of this regime among us does not honour us anymore. This should be a lesson to any regime which follows the road of the agent Egyptian regime.

He said: The achievement of the just peace is one of our main tasks but in spite of our efforts to achieve this, the imperialism which survives in tensions and wars is the main cause of wars. It sends its forces to intervene in different parts of the world. The threats of imperialism to intervene militarily in the Arab Gulf is a very serious issue."

He also said: This threat by American imperialism to send its Sixth Fleet to threaten the shores of the Jamahiriyah which own its sovereignty over its regional water is a serious matter. We reject the American allegations and threats whether in the Arab Gulf or in the Mediterranean.

We affirm that we will never submit to the threats and we will strongly defend our dignity, land and our regional waters till the last man.

We have a long experience of struggle against the Italian fascist and we are ready to continue our struggle against imperialism.

The foreign secretary pointed out that terrorism practiced by American imperialism against the Jamahiriyah's people through imposing siege on them. An example of a siege took place when America refused to deliver commercial Boeing planes which the Jamahiriyah had already paid for. The second example of American terrorism was its attempt to violate sovereignty of Jamahiriyah's regional waters. He said that such terrorism would not deviate Jamahiriyah from its revolutionary line and its support to the struggle of people fighting for freedom.

At-Turayki said: "We are gathering today and for the first time at summit level and we [word indistinct] (?sovereign) bases on Malta we salute such friendly [word indistinct] country on [word indistinct] such [word indistinct] which is (?considered) victory by all of us and our principles."

The foreign secretary (?pointed) out that the imperialism which was [word indistinct] by the revolution of Nicaragua and [word indistinct] in Latin America was trying the same technique used against Cuba to impose siege and economic (?blockade) against those countries.

The Jamahiriyah affirmed its full support with the heroic Vietnamese people and declared without reservation its support and solidarity with the Korean Democratic Republic in its efforts to achieve unity and independence of Korea.

Nigeria's Adefope

FL131425 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0257 GMT 8 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Henry Adefope, Nigerian commissioner for external affairs, at the 7 September evening session of the sixth nonalined countries summit in Havana; in English fading into Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr Chairman, Your Excellencies, distinguished delegates: I wish at the outset to convey the deep regret of my chief of states, His Excellency Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, that he could not attend this conference because he was intensely occupied with preparations to inaugurate in our country a civilian government elected democratically and to give the oath to the president-elect.

Just as that great African son, His Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia--to whom I wish to pay great tribute for his humanism, compassion and sacrifices--clearly said on Monday, we are all members of the nonalined movement by our own election and right. We are all committed to its noble objectives and principles. Therefore, at this conference we must renew our commitment to the ideals and objectives of nonalinement.

Our movement has always given high priority to the liberation struggle, including the legitimacy of armed struggle, to gain basic freedom, self-determination and independence. When we speak of total commitment of our movement with decolonization, one area that readily comes to mind is southern Africa. In that region of Africa, one racist regime in open defiance of the will of the United Nations and International community has been obstructing every step toward a peaceful transfer of power to the genuine leaders of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

We have demonstrated that by adopting strong economic measures we are always prepared to support our words with deeds. We urge the members of this movement to express in practical terms its recognition of the Patriotic Front as the true representative of the people of Zimbabwe and to continue to offer maximum material and diplomatic support until Zimbabwe obtains full independence.

The situation in Namibia, Mr Chairman, is no less different from the one existing in Zimbabwe. The Pretoria regimes seems decided to entrench itself in Namibia. Our movement must respond to South Africa's challenge by reaffirming our solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia, by all means available. Keeping in mind the need for an intensified armed struggle and in view of South Africa's obstruction of a negotiated settlement, we believe this is the time to renew all the material, financial and political support to SWAPO. We should also increase pressure at the United Nations for securing mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

We must also give our firm and continued support to the frontline states in view of the immense sacrifices they are making. In this respect, this summit must condemn in no uncertain terms the barbaric assaults on Mozambican territory.

One other area of colonial tension in Africa where fraticidal conflicts are not necessary or desirable is Western Sahara. The recent OAU summit in Monrovia was categoric and forceful on this matter. It unequivocably expressed itself on the colonial nature of the conflict. And it reaffirmed the obligation of the OAU as well as of the United Nations to insure that the Western Sahara people exercise their right to self-determination.

Morocco, a country with which Nigeria enjoys cordial and fraternal relations, a country from which Nigeria has derived historic, religious and ethnic values, is the last country from which we would have expected to challenge the OAU by extending its occupation of Western Sahara in the south. This was the area recently abandoned by Mauritania in deference to the OAU and in accordance with its agreement with the POLISARIO Front. Because of our binding ties with and admiration for Morocco, we call on that fraternal African nation to reconsider its policy in Western Sahara.

In the Middle East, Mr Chairman, the situation continues to be an alarming threat to world peace and security to the extent that it could lead to renewed hostilities by Israel in its criminal actions for aggression and colonial expansion. We welcome all efforts for achieving peace but we must remind the protagonists of initiatives for peace in the region that the Palestine issue continues to be center of the continued crisis in the Middle East and that there can be no lasting solution unless this issue is taken into account.

The member states of this movement should consider what effective measures should be taken at the UN Security Council or at the next UN General Assembly session to impose mandatory economic sanctions against Israel to force it to fulfill UN decisions and resolutions.

In the field of economic issues, one goal of our movement is to close the gap between the developed and developing countries and elimination of poverty, hunger, diseases and illiteracy in our countries. If our progress on these modest goals has not been encouraging, Mr Chairman, it is because the developed world has not shown a political will without which our search of a new international economic order faces great difficulties.

Perhaps even more important is the increasing need of economic cooperation among the members of our movement. Such cooperation has become imperative in view of the panorama of the current world economy.

Nigeria fully understands the tragedy being experienced by developing countries, particularly the less developed, most of which are in Africa. We are doing everything possible to help them bilaterally and multilaterally. We must consider solutions carefully and collectively and this cannot take place in an atmosphere of accusations and recriminations.

Nigeria is a young country and is aware of its responsibilities toward its citizens, black race, Africa, developing world and mankind in general. I recall the fact that in the past 13 years of our military government Nigeria never has hesitated to provide assistance of all possible types to the sister nations in the developing world that have needed it.

Mr Chairman, Your Excellencies, dear friends: Let us heal the old wounds. We are building our nation in our own way because the lesson of our civil war taught us the realities of life and of the world in which we live. Exploitation is not the exclusive trait of any one nation, group of nations or blocs. It is the expression and continuance of a selfish policy. Nigeria has no complexes. Therefore, we are not interested in rhetoric. We do what we can to tell the truth. Therefore, we wish to declare loudly and clearly that our movement will change its course if we do not see the dangers we are facing.

We must dedicate more time to economic integration and less to recriminations that undermine our movement. Only by doing this will we be able to make the so-called developed world realize that the time has come to stop the arms race and devote its attention to insuring that the entire world, our world, should be fed, housed and live in peace.

Mr Chairman, permit me to end my remarks with some words about recent events in my country, Nigeria. I have the great pleasure of confirming what already has been reported by the press.

Nigeria will return to civilian rule on 1 October 1979. Five elections have been held in a period of 6 weeks between July and August to install state assemblies, the federal House of Representatives and a Senate and to elect state governors and the country's president. Speaking as a member of the armed forces, I am especially proud to say that sovereignty belongs to the people and not to elite groups, regardless of how benevolent these might be.

I trust that the ideas of democracy, justice and equality for which our movement has acquired a solid reputation over the two decades of its existence will continue to be cultivated with the dedication of my own government. Nigeria, therefore, will remain at the vanguard of the movement.

On behalf of my chief of state, Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, government and people of Nigeria, I thank you.

Somalia's Aden

FL131540 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1504 GMT 9 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Ahmed Mohamed Aden, Somali ambassador to the Great Britain, at the 7 September evening session of the sixth nonalined countries summit in Havana; in English fading into Spanish translation--recorded]

[Text] Mr Chairman, Your Excellencies, distinguished delegates: Since it is the first time for me to speak at this summit conference, I wish to congratulate you on your election as chairman of our movement.

The Somali delegation is grateful for the warm reception and hospitality we have received since our arrival in Havana. I would also like to congratulate the delegations of Pakistan, Iran, Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Bolivia, Grenada, Nicaragua and Suriname on the admission of their countries to the nonalined movement. I also congratulate all those countries that have been admitted as observers or are attending as guests.

Mr Chairman, my government has decided to attend this conference because we are fully aware of the vital importance of the work of this movement of which my country is a founding member.

Undoubtedly, the movement has had many achievements in its pursuit of peace, freedom and progress. But there are urgent tasks before us which are not easily resolved and at this time require our careful attention and unity of action.

We are living in a world where economic injustice, racial and colonial domination and violation of human rights continue flagrantly. In our times we are still witnessing the rivalries of the superpowers, hegemony, imposition of the antiquated doctrine of spheres of influence over peoples and countries, denial of people's inalienable rights to self-determination, foreign occupation, intervention, and unequal economic relations between developed and developing countries.

In the face of these pernicious practices and manifestations, we would do well to dedicate ourselves again to the principles and objectives of the movement as they appear in the declarations of nonalined countries conferences held in Bandung, Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo as well as in other conferences, all of which represent principles of continuity.

We should ask: What have we achieved for the practical and economic emancipation of our peoples and countries? Are we faithful to the course of the principles originated by our movement and to its role as an independent factor in international relations? How should we organize ourselves to consolidate our successes to face the new challenges and to set new initiatives jointly and in keeping with the principles of the movement?

At this important stage in the life of nonalinement, we must, more than ever, reaffirm our strict adherence to the genuine principles of the movement, preservation of its authentic independent and democratic character and loyalty to the implementation of its positions.

For us, the noble character [words indistinct] of the movement is fundamental and not negotiable. It is therefore our duty to (?reject) any attempt to undermine the objectives of the movement. Failure to do so would divide our ranks to the detriment and disappointment of the millions of human beings who view the movement as their only hope for equitable international relations, a better life and achievement of their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

Mr Chairman, the historic conference in Bandung, held in 1955, discussed the problem of human rights and declared its complete support for fundamental human rights as a common goal for all peoples and nations. It also expressed the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a prerequisite for the full enjoyment of all fundamental human rights.

At the first heads of state and government conference in Belgrade, the people's right to self-determination and independence was explicitly reaffirmed with the following words: "All nations have the right to unity, self-determination and independence. By virtue of this right, they can determine their political path and undertake their economic, social and cultural development without intimidation."

In this same spirit, the second conference of nonalined countries held in Cairo in 1964, under the slogan of Respect for the People's Right to Self-Determination and Condemnation of the Use of Force Against the Exercise of Such a Right, condemned the attitude of those powers that are opposed to the exercise of the right to self-determination. It also condemned the use of force and all forms of intimidation, interference and intervention aimed at preventing the exercise of this right.

In the case of Zimbabwe, for example, the false elections that led to the formation of the illegal Smith-Muzorewa regime are just a treacherous attempt to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their right to genuine independence. This sinister maneuver is clearly designed to entrench the military, economics and politics of the racist minority.

In the face of these ominous events, the people of the African territory represented by the Patriotic Front should receive material as well as political, moral and diplomatic support in their struggle for real freedom and independence.

The international community has declared that apartheid is a crime against mankind. It also has declared its full moral, material and political support for the oppressed people of South Africa under the leadership of the liberation movements.

In Namibia, the racist Pretoria regime continues to ignore UN resolutions that demand the withdrawal of the Government of South Africa from that sister country and the independence of its people. Moreover, Pretoria has embarked on the establishment of a puppet regime in Namibia and the bantustanization of the territory.

Somalia, which is a founding member of the UN Special Commission Against Apartheid and a member of the OAU commission, [as heard] wishes to express its full support for the armed struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. We demand that UN Security Council resolutions on the arms embargo on South Africa be observed scrupulously and that complete economic sanctions be imposed in accordance with Article 41 of the UN Charter.

Somalia's unequivocal support of the African liberation movements is well known and is [words indistinct] all of us. We, along with other anticolonialist countries, must continue exerting pressure for the decolonization of Zimbabwe, Namibia and (?South Africa).

Mr Chairman, in our opinion we should discuss all these problems if we are to avoid the pitfalls that endanger world peace and security. We are convinced that colonialism is not based on the color of the skin. The other day, during a meeting of the Council of Ministers of this conference, the distinguished representative of the Patriotic Front said: "Colonialism is not only extracontinental but also intercontinental. It is not only white but also black."

It is our conviction that all colonized nations must exercise their right to self-determination. It is pertinent to cite here the words of one of the most eminent (?representatives) of Africa, His Excellency President Kenneth Kaunda, who, in his speech of moving gratitude said: "Even if there are just ten citizens, all nations have the right to self-determination."

As an anti-imperialist, anticolonialist and antiracist country, Somali is committed to the struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed people regardless of race or creed. In this regard, we are inspired by the anti-imperialist, anticolonialist and antiracist principles of our movement. We are convinced that the just causes never die regardless of how much they are ignored. The struggle of peoples for liberation and freedom sooner or later is imposed on the conscience and attention of humanity. There is no greater proof of this basic truth than the rich experience of all the independent countries' liberation movements represented here.

We agree with His Excellency President Castro when he called in his memorable inaugural speech for peace with justice, independence and freedom for many countries and peoples throughout the world, including Ethiopia. We say with him: Peace to Ethiopia and all the countries he mentioned. But we also call for peace and justice, self-determination and freedom for the oppressed people of the Horn of Africa and the hundreds of thousands of refugees that have and continue to become so as a result of the wars of liberation that are being waged and will continue to be waged in that part of our continent.

Mr Chairman, my delegation considers the Palestine issue as the central factor in the Mideast conflict. Clearly there can be no lasting peace without the restoration of the legitimate national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. They have the right to self-determination and a homeland. In this context, the PLO, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should have full and equal participation in all efforts aimed at a solution to the Palestine issue.

Israel must be condemned for its intransigence and called upon to restore the rights of the Palestinian people and withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, including the Arab and sacred city of Jerusalem. Israel's repeated acts of aggression against our brothers of Lebanon not only aggravates the Mideast conflict but also result in a high price of innocent civilian lives.

This conference likewise should condemn Israel and urge it to end its savage attrocities.

Mr Chairman, the second conference of nonalined countries held in Cairo in 1964 also condemned the expressed intention of the imperialist powers to establish based in the Indian Ocean in an attempt to intimidate the emerging African and Asian countries in an unjustified extension of the policy of neocolonialism and imperialism.

One or the other superpower constantly continues to expand its military activities in the Indian Ocean. We must condemn this as nonalined nations without taking part in the rivalries between the superpowers since we want to see the Indian Ocean and adjacent seas, including the Red Sea, as seas of peace.

There must not be foreign military bases, installations or facilities on those coasts and islands. We must pressure the big powers so that they fully fulfill UN declarations on zones of peace. We must also resist the presence of foreign troops on the African Continent, including those of the racist Pretoria regime.

Permit me, Mr Chairman, to cite the sixth of the ten points, that have been called the Bandung declaration, that call on us to abstain from using collective defense pacts to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers and exercise pressure on other countries. Permit me also to cite the wise words of the great statesman and founder of this movement, His Excellency President Tito, in Belgrade in July 1978 on the occasion of the opening of the nonalined countries foreign ministers conference. He said: We are witnessing attempts to establish in the vitally important regions of the nonalined world, primarily in Africa, new forms of colonial presence or dependence on blocs, foreign influence and domination. We must unite to resist these endeavors.

Furthermore, Paragraph 3 of the resolution on interference in the internal affairs of African states, that was unanimously approved at the 14th session of OAU chiefs of state in Libreville, Gabon, in July 1977, is quite specific. It called on extra-African powers to abstain from intervening in the internal affairs of the African Continent. This African position was reaffirmed at the OAU summit conference in Khartoum in 1978.

Regarding Kampuchea's membership, my delegation neither approves of the Pol Pot regime nor approves nor opposes the Heng Samrin regime. The Government of Kampuchea is an internal matter of that nation which they should resolve on their own without foreign military intervention or of any other type.

However, my delegation is concerned over the unilateral discontinuance of the conciliation formula so carefully drafted in Maputo, Colombo and New York. We believe that conciliation is the best provisional solution until a consensus is reached on this issue in light of events in Kampuchea.

Mr Chairman, the international economic situation continues to worsen and the imbalances between the developing and developed countries are intensifying thanks to the stubborn refusal of the developed nations to accept a new international economic order.

The lack of progress in negotiations for the structuring of international economic relations, particularly those negotiations concerning principal areas such as an integrated basic products program, multilateral trade, transfer of resources, international monetary reform, burden of debts on developing countries, just to mention a few, represents the determination of industrialized countries to prolong economic injustices.

The full and equitable participation of developing countries in the decision-making process concerning the international economic situation can solve the problems that the international community is facing in this regard.

A glaring example of the lack of will on the part of industrialized nations to compensate for the present unfair order was demonstrated in the poor results of the sixth UNCTAD conference in Manila.

Therefore, it is vital that the nonalined countries, along with other developing countries, continue to strengthen their self-reliance and cooperation among themselves and to assert and double their efforts to achieve a new international economic order.

Finally, Mr Chairman, the world is still divided and, to a certain degree, the cold war still exists. Our independence and unity can continue to be our strength. We are not here to force our movement to the left or right, East or West. We are here, as the wise and distinguished president of Yugoslavia recently said, to promote the independent welfare of our peoples through our solidarity. We firmly believe that given the unity of good will it is within our potential to achieve the basic principles and objectives of this movement.

The Somali delegation trusts that this conference will rededicate itself to the effective realization of the aspirations of our peoples for freedom, justice and the elimination of economic exploitation, foreign occupation, domination and hegemony because history will judge us by our decisions and actions at this stage of the history of our movement.

Thank you, Mr Chairman. [applause]

Iran's Yazdi

FL131400 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0155 GMT 8 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Iranian Foreign Minister Ebrahim Yazdi at 7 September evening session of the nonalined countries sixth summit conference at Havana's Palace of Conventions; in English with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr President, brothers and sisters, peace be with you. We have been discussing the revolution for 5 days. As you all know, every revolution has its martyrs. Throughout the world the martyrs are considered the heart of history. Last year by this day, on the day called Bloody Friday, the Iranian revolution had already lost 10,000 martyrs. Tomorrow our people will commemorate the memory of our martyrs. For the memory of the Iranian martyrs, all the martyrs of all revolutions in Asia, Africa, America and for the memory of all martyrs in the history of peoples who struggle, let us observe a moment of silence, please. [one minute of silence observed]

It is a matter of special privilege and a great pleasure for me to be the bearer of greetings from the Iranian people, Prime Minister Bazargan and the great leader of our revolution, Ayatollah Khomeyni. This occasion is very dear to us because after nearly 30 years of struggle against a tyrannical regime we have ended imperialist domination of our country. Iran today proudly joins the community of nonalined nations.

Let us begin our message with a brief analysis of the character and history of our revolution. The Iranian revolution is committed to a fundamental transformation of the Iranian society, based on Koran principles of justice, equality and participation. From the perspective of Islam, freedom implies unchaining human beings from economic oppression, exploitation, political and cultural manipulation, mental slavery, egocentricity and all other causes of alinement. The final goal of all revolutions is the destruction of sources of human alinement, whether in capitalism, totalitarianism, racism or exploitation. Until the middle of December 1978, the press of both Eastern and Western blocs described the events in Iran as revolutionary. When the ideology of the struggle against the shah and U.S. imperialism was determined to be eminently Islamic, both the capitalist and communist observers apparently had difficulties conceiving Islam as a revolutionary ideology.

Islam does not have centrally organized and controlled institutions. The prejudice of the colonial scholars was and continues to be heavily influenced by imperialist interests, while the erroneous perception of Marxist writers is a logical extension of the axiom that religion is the people's opium, a contention that could have been true in a certain society or region but that is not necessarily true in another society or region of the world. Instead of using Marxism as an instrument of analysis, many Western and Eastern thinkers have replaced the Marxist doctrine with an independent study of the Third World and the societies of the Third World within their own native, historic and social context. It is unfortunate that contemporary liberal and socialist observers in the Third World continue to follow this framework developed by their predecessors of the 19th century. In the 19th century socialist thinkers were both eccentric and egocentric in formulating their multilated views of the Afro-Asian societies. All societies have their own organic development, independent from what the egocentric, social theoreticians would like to believe.

The decision to transform Iran into the gendarme of U.S. might was absolutely satisfactory for the shah and the United States. The two acted without the least concern for the Iranian people's interests. The shah believed that he was born to be king, that his legitimacy was rooted in the supernatural, that he was the embodiment of divine law and, therefore, was above all criticism. The United States believed that the shah was loved by his people. The implementation of the Nixon doctrine, maintained and supported by President Carter, in fact was the continuation of more than a quarter of a century of U.S. imperialist practices in Iran. Until the creation of the Nixon doctrine, however, U.S. military aid to Iran consisted of loans and grants totalling approximately 1.5 billion dollars between 1946 and 1972. The cold war and the opposition to the monarchy were the motives for U.S. military aid to Iran for 30 years. Since the Pahlavi government did not have popular support, it was logical for the shah to try to expand the base of his power, especially in times of popular opposition to his regime. For example, in the beginning of the decade of the 60's, due to a climate of intensified repulse, the opposition resumed its open activities and the Muslim leaders became more unrestrained in their condemnation of the Pahlavi dictatorship. The shah responded to this challenge by increasing his military might. The Kennedy administration denied the shah's petition for better weapons and, instead, the president urged the shah to undertake social reforms to broaden [words indistinct] and stop the opposition's growth.

Washington's leaders underestimated the Iranian people's nature, their ability and will to struggle and resist. Indeed the American foreign policymakers had come to confuse the notion of this policy with the shah's idea of maintaining control. The people's revolution in Iran should never have surpised Western observers. The realities of Iran under the shah were not hidden.

The United States has become a generous exporter of arms and repressive technology to subjugated countries, especially to those defending the politico-economic status in the international community. While President Carter talks about his commitment to human rights, some of the most insiduous torturers in the world continue to receive weapons, repressive technology and intelligence training from the United States. In our time imperialism has produced an enormous amount of resentment among the peoples of subordinated societies. This resentment, which is the response of exploitation, coercion and manipulation directed to consumption, has resulted in some intensified and broader challenges. Thus, the installation of repressive technology in a dominated society and the vilification of that state have become necessary to maintain the status quo.

Too many of us spend more resources in the institutions of coercion than in education or [words indistinct]. The shah of Iran perhaps was the most irrational ruler of all those in that category. But we all know that there are many small shahs throughout the world, many of whom could be in the nonalined movement. We know that our struggle for justice, independence and liberty should be partly directed against our own habits and perceptions.

It is our responsibility to avoid conflicts within our movement and among nonimperialist countries. This century's revolutionary experiences demonstrate the old truth that the struggle for justice, liberty, fatherland and independence requires a moral dimension which is separate and goes beyond the material structure. Nuclear arms and the real possibility of a global holocaust have intensified the need for [words indistinct]. The contemporary revolutionary movements cannot continue to maintain this unrealistic situation. They should recognize that imperialism and oppression cannot be defeated through materialism alone. [applause]

The problem of the Third World countries is not only political and economic domination by the superpowers but also cultural domination. Many of the educated elements in the Third World speak the mother language. Sometimes they dress as natives, but feel, hear and see in the Western or Eastern style. In other words, their perceptions are absorbed by foreign forces. This is the worst kind of slavery of human beings. This mental slavery is the distinctive consequence of the contemporary world's imperialism.

If nonalinement is to serve the masses' interests, we must (?avoid alinement) with the superpowers, and make a consistent effort to liberate ourselves from the mental chains of cultural domination.

Mr President, brothers and sisters: It is undeniable that the Iranian revolution is a great achievement, an achievement for which our people have paid a very high price. All revolutions have martyrs and the martyrs have a message. I have come from the garden of tulips of our martyrs and I would like to convey to you their message, which is: As long as there is injustice, go on brothers, continue the struggle. As long as there is oppression, go on brothers, continue the struggle. As long as there is colonialism, imperialism, Zionism, hegemonism, racism and exploitation, go on brothers, continue the struggle.

Brothers and sisters: We are fighting for our convictions, for our values, for our Islamic values. We will never compromise our revolutionary values. Our values do not have a price. Final victory is ours. Final victory belongs to the world's oppressed peoples. The final victory of the world's oppressed peoples is inevitable. That is a promise of God. It is our determination to bless the world's oppressed peoples and turn them into Muslim guards and theirs of the earth. That is the promise. Victory is inevitable. Thank you very much. [applause]

Equatorial Guinea's Maye

FL131313 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 0048 GMT 8 Sep 79 FL

[Speech by Florencio Maye, first vice president of the Supreme Military Council of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, at the 7 September evening session of the sixth nonalined countries summit in Havana; in Spanish--recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr Chairman, with your permission I should like to take this opportunity to present to this great assembly the political options and orientation of the new government that since 3 August 1979 has assumed the leadership of the historic destiny of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

The overthrow of the dictatorial and bloody regime of former President Nasie Nguema by the People's Armed Forces followed increased awareness of the historic responsibility of the national army toward our people as a result of the regrettable state of poverty in which the former regime had sunk the country in the 11 years of its rule.

It is within the context of this state of affairs that Equatorial Guinea comes to this great conference to urge this summit to consider the disastrous situation that presently prevails in my country. I would be grateful to member states of our movement if they would give all necessary assistance to the Guinean people.

Former President Nasie Nguema is now under arrest for all the crimes he has committed pending a proper trial for which the Supreme Military Council invites the participation of observers from international justice institutions and the press.

The coup d'etat in Equatorial Guinea, Mr Chairman, cannot and should not be considered the result of a lust for power on the part of the armed forces. Instead, it was a coup for freedom from the roots of the Guinean people themselves. The Guinean Armed Forces acted for the people and by the people.

The direction of the Supreme Military Council which now leads our country is aimed at direct democracy in which the individual, the principal and objective of every creation, enjoys all the rights and necessary privileges. In this regard, the Supreme Military Council of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea faithfully adheres to the philosophy and ethics advocated by the UN Charter, the Organization of African Unity and this great movement of the nonalined countries in order to insure the welfare and security of human beings.

It is within the context that the Supreme Military Council has reinstated democracy in Equatorial Guinea. All prisoners considered political by the former regime have been released. Property is guaranteed and protected. All the freedoms and rights of citizens are respected and guaranteed.

In this task, the principal objective of the Supreme Military Council is national reconstruction, and social, economic and cultural development for the people's well-being. In pursuing this objective, the Supreme Military Council believes that the participation of all Guineans is absolutely necessary. To this end, it has invited all Guineans to join the great task of national reconstruction. The country needs the work of all its sons and we cannot betray it.

Mr Chairman, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, faithful to the nonalinement policy, will maintain relations with all the countries of the world that love peace and freedom on the basis of the principles of international law, sovereign equality of states, noninterference in the internal affairs [of others] and scrupulous respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity. It will also maintain relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries for their mutual and reciprocal benefit.

Mr Chairman, the fact that at this critical time for the reorganization of the Guinean state a delegation of the Supreme Military Council has come to Havana explains the importance that our country attaches to the role of the nonalined countries movement as the only bastion to gain our independence, consolidate the sovereignty of our states, liberate all our economic resources for the benefit of our people and safeguard their cultural values which for a long time have been obstructed and denied by the big monopolistic societies.

The nonalined countries' movement consists of states with different political options, in many cases controversial, which is a disadvantage to strengthening the movement's role, unity and cohesiveness.

However, in the concept of nonalined itself, along with the principles and aspirations that led to struggle undertaken by Third World countries, these different options are far from being a real obstacle to the formulation of common strategies to defend the interests of our states since our countries have the same problems and difficulties in the development process.

My delegation hopes that this conference will establish the foundations and most viable procedures that will give vigor to our movement to make decisions and guarantee furthering its role, its unity and cohesiveness in the face of any attempt to introduce division.

As part of its new orientation, the Supreme Military Council of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea will devote all its efforts to defend the nonalinement policy, the maintenance of peaceful and equitable relations among nations, the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, colonialism, racism, and apartheid as well as forms of oppression, occupation, maintenance of military blocs and foreign domination, expansionism and hegemony.

Mr Chairman, although our efforts toward decolonization have resulted in great successes and colonialism is irreversibly reaching its end, broad regions of our continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America still continue suffering the horrors of colonial and racist domination.

The situation in southern Africa continues to be disconcerting with the threat of a strengthening of the apartheid system and man's exploitation of man. The constant massacres and rebellions in Soweto, Johannesburg and Pretoria reaffirm the determination of the people to take over their own political destiny.

Cooperation between the South African regime with certain Western powers in the fields of trade as well as in military matters, which include the nuclear field, represent a clear demonstration of the diabolic intentions of the Pretoria regime toward the African Continent. The African territory of Namibia is still the victim of maneuvers by imperialism which is obstructing the Namibian people's right to exercise their legitimate rights to freedom, independence and self-determination. Despite the great victories achieved by SWAPO, the racist reactionaries are reinforcing their maneuvers to continue their illegal occupation of Namibia, violate its integrity and break its national unity. It is time that the entire international community be aware of this situation and give all material, political and diplomatic support to the Namibian people, internally and externally in order to help these oppressed people to regain their rights long-deprived them by colonialism and imperialism.

Zimbabwe continues to be a pocket of tension provoked by the ambitions of colonialism and imperialism, threatening the peace and tranquillity of its population. The so-called elections held on the basis of an internal settlement, which were condemned by the international community, have done nothing more than guarantee the perpetuity of a clique that assumed power in Zimbabwe illegally in 1966. Zimbabwe, therefore, still is a colony ruled illegally by a clique of racists and traitors. The people of Zimbabwe will never be able to exercise their rights totally and fully without the effective participation of their authentic representatives. In this regard, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea resolutely supports the struggle undertaken by the Patriotic Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe as the only movement that defends the interests of its people.

Mr Chairman, an analysis of the existence of situations of injustice in Africa, Asia and Latin America leads to the conclusion that, unfortunately, there still exist unequal relations between states. It is for this reason that in the international scene and specifically in the United Nations the nonalined countries should join and coordinate their efforts to review the system of that world organization.

We believe that there is much to be done to tackle the problems raised by the rapid population growth, food insufficiency, exploitation of our economic resources, present monetary system that governs commercial and economic relations between states, problems generated by a spiraling inflation that is affecting our countries, and so forth and so on. To improve this situation, our countries count on each other, above all.

Mr Chairman, I would not like to conclude without expressing the sincere congratulations of my delegation to His Excellency Junius Jayewardene, president of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, and his government. He has led our movement with a deep sense of honor and responsibility over the 3 years of his chairmanship of the nonalined countries.

Finally, my delegation wants to express its complete satisfaction with and congratulate and welcome to our movement the Governments of Bolivia, Grenada, Iran, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Suriname and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front. We are certain that their participation will be a considerable contribution to the effectiveness of our movement [in its pursuit] of a better world. Thank you. [applause]

Sudan's Sahlu

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[Speech by Sayyid Ali Ahmad Sahlu, Sudan's permanent representative to the United Nations, at the 7 September evening session of the sixth nonalined countries summit in Havana; in native language with consecutive Spanish translation--recorded]

[Excerpts] Thank you, Mr Chairman. Ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, I am pleased to express our sincere congratulations to your people and government for the preparations made to facilitate the success of the work of this conference.

Military interventions in the internal affairs of some countries still take place. Expansionism and the appropriation of territories still exist. And what is even more painful is that these problems exist within the nonalined movement itself since we have confirmed today that differences exist, that armed conflicts exist. These are conflicts and differences between member countries of the nonalined movement and, inevitably, they have led to negative results and diminishes the prestige of the movement and the political weight of the movement on the international scene, particularly in its relations with the big powers and their allies. This has been aggravated even more in recent years by the exercise of pressure on the movement by the two powers of the world.

It is obvious that these small conflicts have become ideological conflicts between the big powers. As a result, the nonalined movement, influenced by some of its members, has been placed in a position which spreads its options in various directions; and sometimes the movement has acted against its own principles and the ideals of the movement in its struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, Zionism and other forms of oppression.

Mr Chairman: We also have noted that the nonalined movement is suffering from some misunderstandings between some of its members on decisions made at nonalined countries' conferences concerning the level of decisionmaking or how such decisions have been made. We also have noted ideological contradictions between some members of the movement concerning some of the important problems. This aggravates the existing situation and tension between such member countries.

If this movement is to assume its role, Mr Chairman, this divisionism with regard to the principles of the movement constitutes a grave element which requires all of us to act together to achieve the objectives we sought when we joined the movement and to implement the resolutions adopted by the nonalined countries movement.

It is up to us to strengthen our solidarity and work together to implement our resolutions and action programs, thereby giving the movement great impetus to struggle and adequately establish new forms of international relations and policies. We believe that all the experiences we have gained over the years can guide us along the right path and help us direct our action. Mr Chairman: In the case of the differences and conflicts between several member states of the movement, we believe that a conciliation committee should be formed with the consent of the interested parties in order to seek peaceful solutions without affecting the efforts of delegates at the regional level.

In the Middle East, the situation has gotten increasingly more with the threat of a war that would shake the entire region. This is the result of Israeli aggression and its establishment of new settlements against all UN resolutions concerned with the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories and return of such territories to the Palestine people. Israel's declarations confirm that it will never accept a just and lasting peace based on the withdrawal of its troops from occupied territories and recognition of the Palestinian people's rights including their right to establish an independent homeland in Palestine and liberation of Jerusalem from all Zionist forces so that it can again become an integral part of an Arab Palestine.

We support the PLO so that it can regain the occupied territories. The support that the nonalined countries have given to the Arab countries for the liberation of occupied territories and to regain their inalienable rights is a responsibility emanating from the principles and objectives of the nonalined movement. Keeping all this in mind, we must express our effective and practical support, collectively and individually as members of the nonalined movement, for adherence to the principles and resolutions of the nonalined movement and their implementation. For this reason, my country commits itself to respect resolutions of the nonalined movement and to implement its objectives, regardless of sacrifices involved, whether or not it has to be done peacefully or by means of war.

We are convinced that the role of the nonalined in the Palestinian cause is of considerable importance. The nonalined states should, above all, exert pressure on Israel to abandon its obstinate policy, withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories and end its policies of exploitation and establishment of settlements, thereby allowing the Palestinian people to recover their homeland and establish in that region peace, security and national reconstruction.

Mr Chairman: We have heard reports, indeed with great concern, of Israeli attacks that have been taking place against the cities and villages of southern Lebanon. These attacks have continued over recent weeks. This shows that Israel has taken advantage of the strategic imbalance that exists in that region to escalate its attacks. We should give our total support to Lebanon and do everything we can to exercise our influence to put an end to these practices and to insure implementation of UN resolutions, including those calling for sanctions.

Mr Chairman: If the situation in the Middle East is becoming increasingly more alarming, it is no less so in southern Africa. The white minority regimes there are conducting all types of terrorist and aggressive actions against the black majorities and carrying out military attacks against the African frontline states to maintain their will by force. They are also trying to prevent the struggle for the freedom of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

As African countries, we should reinforce assistance to these African countries until independence is achieved. At the same time, we should reflect on and remain alert to other options that might exist such as armed struggles if (?other efforts) are negative. We are convinced that the nonalined countries will support the armed struggle if it becomes necessary for the Patriotic Front to undertake such armed struggle. In Namibia, it is our opinion that the negotiations, undertaken until quite recently under the auspices of the United Nations, are now at an impasse. South Africa wants to maintain the status quo following the fraudulent and illegal elections held last year with the participation of Pretoria's allies while patriotic elements were prevented from participating. Not even SWAPO was able to participate.

Mr. Chairman: This alarming situation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Rhodesia and the stubborness of the minorities to continue their oppression, racial discrimination and injustices against the black majority are an outrage against these struggling people and all independent nations of Africa and in the world, as well as all the principles that guide nations today. These actions are a threat to world peace and security, an open threat to UN resolutions. In the face of all this, it is up to the nonalined countries to make a complete commitment to the people of Zimbabwe and put into practice all the moral and practical assistance they can give to SWAPO, Patriotic Fronts and frontline states which continue resisting the repeated acts of aggression of Salisbury and Pretoria.

Mr. Chairman: I want to conclude by saying that today we are in a situation when we cannot have doubts or fail to take advantage of opportunities. It is necessary to give man the possibility to help his fellow man for the best welfare of humanity. We should feel committed to safeguard our solidarity. It is necessary that we be worthy of our predecessors and that we face our enemies. We should continue the path set out for us by the nonalined movement. This path has its starting in the struggle against imperialism, racism, exploitation, aggression and expansionism. The nonalined countries should help the countries today threatened by these ills and prevent them from turning against the movement. This is our opinion. We should work toward our objectives. Our victory will be assured because this victory is linked to historic fatalism. [as heard] Thank you, Mr. Chairman. [applause]

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